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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-044
Tuesday
6 March 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

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National Assembly Session Begins

Agenda Adopted

AU0503142690

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1300 GMT on 5 March carries an eight-minute live relay of the opening of the 15th Session of the Ninth National Assembly. The session is opened by National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov, who says that considering the presence of 340 National Assembly deputies, "we can start work."

He proposes the following agenda:

"1. Proposal on approving decrees on appointments of Council of Ministers members.
"2. Proposal on approving 3 March as Bulgarian National Day.
"3. Draft law on settling collective labor disputes.
"4. Draft law on amending labor code.
"5. Draft law on Bulgarian citizens' names.
"6. Draft law on amendments and addenda to the Law on Citizens' Property.
"7. Draft law on amending Ownership Law.
"8. Draft law on amendments and addenda to the Territorial Settlement Organization.
"9. Draft law on amendments and addenda to the People's Militia Law.
"10. Draft law on amendments and addenda to enforcement of penalties.
"11. Draft law on the 1990 Budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.
"12. Report of the Parliamentary Commission on Certain Urgent Questions Related to Abuses Committed During the Totaliatarian Regime.
"13. Report on the Parliamentary Commission Related to Radio and Television Organization.
"14. Declaration of the National Assembly related to the letter of the SFRY Assembly president.
"15. Interpellation of National Assembly Deputy Veselin Andreev on a question related to the ecological situation in Srednogorie Town."

After reading the agenda, Stanko Todorov is interrupted by (?Gichka Staneva), a National Assembly deputy who objects to the amendment of the agenda at the last moment before the session, because this makes the National Assembly deputies "incompetent," besides violating "Article 62 of the Regulation Code on the work of the National Assembly." She adds that the constituents have repeatedly criticized the fact that some draft laws cannot be thoroughly discussed in advance for this reason. She proposes for this reason that some draft laws should not be discussed at this session.

Stanko Todorov says that he "respects" her objection, but still asks the deputies to vote on the agenda, promising that he "will try" to make it possible that items on the agenda are submitted to the deputies in advance. Stanko Todorov asks the deputies to vote, after which the agenda is adopted with one objection and 10 abstentions.

The agenda is adopted, after which the live relay ends.

Passes Law on Labor Disputes

AU0503142890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Tsveti Gerov report from the National Assembly—recorded]

[Excerpts] The 15th Session of the National Assembly, which opened 1 hour ago, continues. At the moment the draft law on the names of Bulgarian citizens is being discussed. [passage omitted]

Before that the National Assembly members approved the State Council decrees on appointing Aleksandur Aleksandrov minister of ecology and Krustyu Goranov minister of culture. The new ministers signed the oath in accordance with constitutional requirements.

The National Assembly members unanimously adopted the State Council decree on turning 3 March into National Day.

Afterward the National Assembly members began the discussion of the next item on the agenda—the draft law on settling collective labor disputes. Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions, presented the draft law. The opinion of the Legislative Commission and the leaderships of the other National Assembly commissions was reported by Vasil Mruchkov. Both speakers expressed regret that representatives of the Independent Podkrepa Labor Federation did not take part in the preliminary discussion. Simultaneously, the need for the documents was pointed out. Against the background of the present situation and the wave of strikes it will create a mechanism for settling the contradictions and conflicts that have emerged between employers and their employees.

The draft law envisages that disputes be settled voluntarily in two ways: by direct talks between the workers, or their representatives, and the employer, and by referring the dispute to a body that has broader prerogatives than the employer. [passage omitted]

After very little activity on the part of the National Assembly members the draft law on settling collective labor disputes was adopted in principle at the first reading and transferred to the Legislative Commission for additional discussion of the new proposals. A draft law on amending the Labor Code was also adopted at the first reading. The amendment aims to introduce greater clarity into the status, rights, and obligations of the economic leaders.

At the moment the National Assembly members are discussing the draft law on Bulgarian names. We shall continue to report on the progress of the National Assembly session.

BTA Reports Session Proceedings

AU0503180490 Sofia BTA in English 1643 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—At the session which it opened today, the National Assembly debated and voted Bulgaria's 1990 budget.

The major pieces of draft legislation on the agenda include a Bulgarian Citizens Names Bill, a National Police Force Act Amendments Bill, an Ownership Act Amendments Bill, etc. The Parliamentary Commission on the Status of the Television and Radio Committee will report to the session.

The Collective Industrial Disputes Settlement Bill got through the first-reading vote.

The National Assembly adopted a declaration in connection with the letter from the president of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia of February 14, 1990, which set the beginning of a new anti-Bulgarian campaign in Yugoslavia and especially in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Debating the Collective Industrial Disputes Settlement Bill, the MPs made a number of remarks. They believe that such an important act should not be rushed through, under pressure from the circumstances which they assessed as grave. Since November 10 there have been 551 industrial disputes in this country, and 116 of them have aggravated into strikes. The bill's sponsor Prof. Krustyu Petkov, president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, objected against the amendments introduced into the draft by the Committee on Legislative Affairs. He believes that the way it is modified, the bill is inconsistent with some international standards and raises barriers before the workforces. Besides, it contains a long list of economic activities where strike action is banned. The law-makers' attention was also called to the need to secure the participation of the Podkrepa Labor Federation, a member of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces, in drafting the bill.

The chairman of the Committee on Legislative Affairs explained that the experience of a number of countries having such legislation has been used in drafting the bill, along with the experience of the International Labor Organization (ILO). The draft has been handed to the cochairmen of the roundtable talks, and representatives of Podkrepa have been invited to take part in the work of the committee. So far they have not responded to this invitation. The bill got a first-reading approval and all remarks will be submitted to the committee which will redraft it.

The Bulgarian Citizens Names Bill is a centerpiece of the session. Yesterday over one thousand people arrived in Sofia from different parts of the country. In the early 70s and between 1983-1985 they were forced to change their Turkish and Arabic names for Bulgarian ones. Now this multitude is silently besieging the National Assembly building.

The new legislation settles the matter of their names, giving them an opportunity to readopt their old names by a facilitated administrative procedure as soon as the act is made public. This name-changing procedure will be valid until the end of 1990, after which names can be legally changed only by a law-court procedure. The forcible name-changing campaign which Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime launched against some Bulgarian citizens between 1983 and 1985 was described as "criminal".

This is the first time that such legislation has been enacted in Bulgaria. Until now the matter was settled by a piece of subordinate legislation which did not guarantee that the choice or change of name should be absolutely voluntary. For this reason, violations and abuses were committed in this country under the Zhivkov regime. On January 15, 1990 the National Assembly adopted a special declaration on the ethnic issue which explicitly emphasizes the right of every Bulgarian citizen to a free choice of name. It furthermore stressed that no one has the right to exert pressure, coercion or force on citizens who want to keep their names or to change them of their own free will. A clause in the bill says that "the use of threat, coercion, fraud or abuse of power or other unlawful action in the choice, retention, change or readoption of a name is a punishable offense under the penal code." The bill got through the first-reading vote stage.

The MPs gave their first-reading approval to the Labor Code Amendments Bill. The code entered into force on January 1, 1987 and upgraded labor democracy and self-management to a new level, extending the rights of workforces to elect and to diselect foremen and business managers. Some statutory acts adopted after that date, mainly in connection with the reorganization of the economy along company lines, created uncertainties for managerial staff and led to a destabilization of economic activity and gave rise to numerous industrial disputes. There is an increasingly common practice of workforces to carry out a legally unsanctioned "vote of confidence" or "vote of no confidence" in their managements, elected or otherwise.

The amendments submitted for consideration now are intended to clarify the legal framework and to strengthen the role of business managers in the conditions of the country's grave economic crisis. The bill's motivation says that the principle of single leadership in economic activity should be consolidated by temporarily abandoning the foremen and CEOs election and deselection procedure laid down in the Labor Code. In future their labor relations should be regulated on the basis of a contract of employment.

Belchev Presents Budget

AU0503210590 Sofia BTA in English 1903 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—The 15th Session of the National Assembly continues. Mr Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, said that the drafting of Bulgaria's 1990 budget involved an in-depth analysis of the economy whose development has been characterized by growing imbalances over the last few years.

Submitting to the National Assembly the draft budget, Mr Belchev emphasized that what is needed now is to cultivate persistently a new conduct in the conditions of a market economy. The draft budget takes into account the government's crisis-management policy and the gradual transition to a market-operated economy. On this basis the exchequer is to play a considerably limited role in the redistribution processes in the national economy. Measures are taken to solve the most pressing questions of social security, education and health care.

The minister pointed out that this year the budget deficit will drop by some 30 per cent as against 1989. He went on to say, however, that the stabilization of the budget deficit by cutting down expenses creates the requisite initial conditions to launch a major economic reform. The deficit amounted to some 4,000 million leva in 1988 and to 1,329 million leva in 1989.

According to the draft, the 1990 budget revenue is expected to total 24,894 million leva and public outlays will run at 25,851 million leva. The deficit will thus amount to 957 million leva. Approximately 3.7 per cent of the outlays will not be covered by revenue.

Mr Belchev pointed out that the deficit did not emerge suddenly but has resulted from economic imbalances, huge subsidies, immense losses from inefficient investment, poor quality and uncompetitive output.

Bulgaria's foreign debt is over 10,000 million U.S. dollars. Deep cuts will be therefore made in the import of equipment, accessories, raw and prime materials.

The 1990 gross national product is expected to decline 4.4 per cent from the 1989 level and the national income will post a 3.7 per cent drop.

The conventional methods of centralized administrative regulation of development can no longer help the country out of its economic crisis, the minister said. Crisis management requires a new socioeconomic platform and a radical economic reform. Monetary resources can only grow by an economic recovery, by restructuring production and by bringing it into line with the requirements of the home and the international market.

The principal method of reducing the budget deficit to manageable proportions will be the reduction of expenditures. Investment outlays will be reduced. Projects which are not vital for coping with the crisis and for solving pressing social problems will be suspended or canceled. This will help economize 718 million leva this year. The outlays for bonuses, allowances and subsidies will be cut by 1,653 million leva. The subsidies for the political and the public organizations were stopped as from the beginning of 1990, which is seen as a major step towards social democratization. The resultant saving will amount to 192 million leva.

Outlays for public works and the municipal economy will be dramatically reduced, mostly in their part of unjustified spending on prestigious and representative projects. Priority will be assigned to the outlays on water supply and sewerage projects in population centers.

State allocations for representative events, which ranged from 20 million to 40 million leva annually over the last few years, are entirely eliminated.

Drastic cuts are envisaged in the spending on state administration which will total 409 million leva, 53 million less than in 1989. A further 25 per cent of these outlays will be saved during the year on the dismissal of office and managerial staff.

The 1990 public spending will be reduced by an overall 2,814 million leva from 1989. This cut is equal to 11 per cent of all budget outlays.

The largest amount of public money (860 million leva) will be spent on raising the lowest pensions and on giving pay rises to teachers and health care employees. Irrespective of the country's dire financial straits, no cuts are envisaged in the state support of health care, educational and other social institutions.

Mr Belchev said that by the middle of this year a new tax law will be drafted, consistent with the requirement of justice and equality for all tax-payers.

Education will get 7.4 per cent of the national income, and 5.5 per cent will go to health care. Cultural activities will be financed by 412.3 million leva. More funds will be provided to improve television and radio broadcasting facilities, and no more subsidies will be available to magazines and other printed media.

The allocation for social security is to run at 5,100 million leva.

The Ministry of National Defense will get 1,656.6 million leva, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs 335 million.

The draft allots 1,487.6 million leva for investment, mainly in the development of public infrastructure, assigning priority to the construction of schools, health care and social establishments, housing and water supply.

State outlays for investment credit will be cut by 450 million leva from the 1989 figure, affecting power engineering, metallurgy and the heavy chemical industry.

The draft budget makes a special point of additional farm subsidies: with an extra 827 million leva, the outlay on agricultural produce allowances and bonuses will total 1,788 million leva. The idea is to improve the profitability of the sector. Another important innovation is the elimination of a number of differences in the economic terms for the different forms of land ownership and use. Market prices are introduced for fresh and processed farm products.

Mr Belchev said that he will go on studying the possibilities of closing down some money-losing productions. The companies' problems and financial difficulties which have piled up over the last few years cannot be solved on the basis of the current inefficient economic structure.

The minister stressed that in order to cope with the crisis, the country should switch over to a market economy based on a diversity of equal forms of ownership and management. This requires to set up a means of production market, a labor market and a capital market, as well as an adequate system of economic and tax regulators.

At the same time he said that the economy cannot be privatized without the help of the state institutions, the exchequer included. The accelerated promotion of free enterprise will be guaranteed by long-term credit, by the method of labor remuneration, the tax system and the terms of fixed assets acquisition.

The MPs considered a package of three bills amending the Citizens Property Act, the Territorial and Settlement Organization Act and the Ownership Act. The legislation would lift the numerous restrictions on the citizens' rights to dispose freely of their property. The proposed amendments are entirely consistent with the transition to a market economy.

The citizens property act amendments bill became law in the first-reading vote, and the other two pieces of draft legislation were approved in principle. They will be published for discussion and reintroduced in parliament at its next session.

One MP suggested that a failure to introduce an effective mechanism of taxing immovable property may lead to grave abuses and acute social problems.

The National Police Force Act Amendments Bill, which got through the first-reading stage, will abolish internal exile for a term ranging from one to three years as an administrative punishment and will cut the maximum term of the other preventive administrative measures under article 39 (prohibition to leave one's place of residence and administrative supervision) from six to three months. The category of persons who are granted immunity from preventive administrative measures is extended to cover pregnant women and mothers of children under seven years of age who have custody of their children.

Under the administration of Punishments Act Amendments Bill, which was voted through on first reading, the Ministry of Justice will take charge of the prisons, and the respective powers vested into the Ministry (minister) of Internal Affairs will be transferred to the Ministry (minister) of Justice.

It is proposed that first-time offenders convicted for relatively less serious crimes serve their sentences in humanized conditions.

Bulgarian Names Bill Adopted

AU0503212790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] The 15th National Assembly session continues. Our reporter Yasen Indzhev reports:

[Begin Indzhev recording] I would like to tell our listeners that at the beginning of the evening session, the floor was given to Sava Dulbokov, who reported on the parliamentary commissions' opinion on the proposals to improve the text of the Bulgarian Citizens' Names Draft Bill. The speaker said that noting the various interests, compromise alternatives have been sought and a text has been adopted which incorporates the new proposals. Those proposals read: Bulgarian citizens who have been forced to change their names can now voluntarily reinstate their previous names after submitting a written request to the appropriate district court at the township or municipal people's councils. The requests will be reviewed within seven days with the petitioner, judicial personnel, and witnesses present. After the decision has been adopted, a new birth certificate will be issued and the requested name entered in the registers. An identity document for the person with a changed name will also be issued.

The law democratically resolves the issue of minors and those born during the last year. Requests to change such names will be exempted from state taxes. It is pointed out that the Council of Ministers must create the necessary conditions and facilities for the law's application.

As far as family names ending in -ov, -ev, -ova, and -eva, which evoked so much discussion, are concerned, a reasonable compromise was reached, the speaker said. In a democratic manner and according to traditions, the law now allows use of other endings.

The law was adopted with only one abstention, and will be enforced three days after its publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK. National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov thanked the representatives of the All-Peoples Committee on Defense of National Interests, the Association on Freedoms and Rights in Bulgaria, and the Rhodopes Rodolyubie Movement, which cooperated in adopting the law.

Afterward Ginyu Ganev, Atanas Dimitrov, and Medi Doganov went out to speak to the people surrounding the National Assembly. Medi Doganov congratulated them on the law's adoption, while Ginyu Ganev explained the law to those who came from various parts of the country intending to apply pressure on the National Assembly's work.

At the moment, the people's representatives are discussing the draft law on the 1990 budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. [end recording]

More on Names Bill, Budget

AU0503213690 Sofia BTA in English 2105 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—The 15th session of the National Assembly continues. Late in the evening the Bulgarian Citizens Names Law was unanimously passed with some revisions introduced after the debate.

The revisions modified the final provisions of the legislation with a view to facilitating the administrative name-changing procedures for citizens who have been forced to adopt new names. The application of the law was extended to make the summary procedure of name restoration available to all citizens whose names have been forcibly changed rather than just the victims of the 1983-1985 renaming campaign. The beneficiaries are mainly Bulgarian Mohammedans inhabiting the Rhodopes Mountains and some areas of northern Bulgaria, who were forcibly renamed in the early 70s.

Citizens who will restore their previous names will be issued a new birth certificate and they will be entered anew in the population registers.

The revisions finally settled the matter of the patronimics, abandoning the mandatory requirement to form them by the suffixes -ov, -ev, -ova, -eva, which is characteristic mainly of Bulgarian names.

The news that the Bulgarian Citizens Names Law has been enacted was broached to the nearly one thousand envoys from different parts of the country waiting around the National Assembly building. They received it with jubilation and chants of "unity".

The MPs then proceeded with a debate on the National Budget Bill. On behalf of the standing committees it was moved to approve a permissible level of the 1990 budget deficit at 1,200 million leva (instead of 1,000 million, as listed in the draft), which is still over 100 million below the 1989 figure. The idea of the correction was to provide for greater flexibility in the government's decision-making.

In connection with the steep rise in the crime rate (involving theft, arson and rape), it was moved to vote an additional 10 million outlay [not specified] for the support of law-enforcement authorities. It was furthermore moved to cut the outlays on the wage bill and the maintenance of office and managerial staff by 40 per cent instead by the suggested 25 per cent. Under the circumstances, the departments affected will have to dismiss some of their employees.

The budget bill got through the first-reading voting stage. The session will continue tomorrow.

Government Members on Property Status

AU0603103490 Sofia BTA in English 0850 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—A bulletin circulated at the ongoing session of the National Assembly contains information on the property status of the government members. Such information is made public for the first time in Bulgaria's parliamentary practices. The summary is compiled on the basis of declarations which the ministers sent to the National Assembly chairman.

The declarations listed the immovable property owned in this country and abroad, motor cars, accounts with Bulgarian and foreign banks, loans outstanding, and securities.

None of the ministers owns more than one dwelling, most have a single weekend house, and their private cars are Soviet-made Moskviches or Ladas. Some, like Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, own neither a home of their own nor a weekend house. The savings accounts which the ministers and their families have range from five or six thousand leva to 35,000. Quite a few of them are repaying loans. Some have insignificant savings in foreign currency (from 1,000 to 1,500 U.S. dollars). None of the cabinet ministers own real estate abroad.

The Bulgarian Government ministers occupy relatively large flats valued between 25,000 and 56,000 leva.

'Turkish-Speaking' People, Muslims Rally in Sofia

AU0403204290 Sofia BTA in English 1828 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—Several groups of Turkish-speaking and Muslim people marched across downtown Sofia at noon today and gathered at the St Aleksandur Nevsky Memorial Church and around the National Assembly building. They carried placards reading "We Want the Truth About the Regenerative Process", "Give Us Back Our Names", "Democratic Names Law For All in Bulgaria."

The protesters have come from different parts of the country and say they will stay on for 48 hours here to press their demand for equal treatment in the restoration of names and for an administrative rather than a law-court procedure of voluntary name-changing. A number of them urge for a speedy settlement of the problems concerning the property of the Bulgarian citizens who have repatriated from Turkey and for providing them with jobs.

At its session tomorrow the National Assembly is expected to consider some of these matters.

Police Investigate Dimitrov Mausoleum Incident

AU2702224590 Sofia BTA in English 2015 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—The regional prosecutor's office in Sofia today announced that the Sofia City Police Department made a check of the incident that took place on February 25, 1990, at the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov.

Based on the information gathered, a preliminary inquiry will be held under Article 325 of the Penal Code for misbehaviour amounting to a gross breach of peace and obvious disrespect for the public and under Article 148, Paragraphs 1 and 3, of the Penal Code for publicly insulting officials while they were discharging their duties as guards of honour in front of the Mausoleum.

On February 25, after the two-hundred-thousand-strong rally organized by the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) in the square before the mausoleum, a group of young people managed to get onto the rostrum of the mausoleum despite the efforts of the people in charge of the protection of the rally and of its organizers to stop them. The young people chanted slogans in support of the opposition and demanded the destruction of the mausoleum. With the efforts of UDF leaders the incident was done away with. From this rostrum in the last 40 years the leaders of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the state received the demonstrations of the Sofianites that took place to mark different national holidays.

BCP Daily Denounces UDF Declaration

AU0203101790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Feb 90 pp 1, 6

[Unattributed article: "It Appears That Hawks Prevail In UDF"]

[Text] Georgi Spasov, spokesman of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], struck a rather high and sharp note on the out-of-tune grand piano of political dialogue in the country. In the declaration read on television yesterday [23 February], he declared that the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] had torpedoed the "roundtable" talks by proposing to the UDF a draft on political agreement.

Georgi Spasov attacked the proposal to construct party organizations on the territorial principle, outside the enterprises, and expressed doubts about the depoliticization of the Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He accused the BCP leadership of adopting unilateral decisions on reforms in our social and political life, presenting the opposition with accomplished facts. The declaration ignored the repeated BCP proposals to form a coalition government, something that would have given the UDF the chance to actively participate in the reform and assume its share of political responsibility.

Georgi Spasov denied any legitimacy on the part of the Bulgarian state's organs and accused the BCP of not recognizing the "roundtable" as expressing the Bulgarian people's political will. This would place the "roundtable" talks above all existing constitutional institutions. In fact the UDF declined to discuss the package of draft bills that the BCP tried to propose at the "roundtable," and that are being reviewed at the moment by several National Assembly commissions.

Immediately after the declaration was read, dozens of citizens called RABOTNICHESKO DELO's editorial board and expressed their disagreement, puzzlement, and outrage with its tone and contents. "First they wanted to remove the primary party organizations from workplaces, then they tried to block the activity of the government and the National Assembly through the 'roundtable.' If this issue also is resolved, they will find more and more issues, and will continue to pursue their final goal—the destruction of the party," said Georgi Todichkov from Sofia, "Shipchenski Prokhod" Street No. 21.

"Georgi Spasov's declaration is an attempt on the UDF's part to maneuver itself above the National Assembly. They want to postpone the elections because they do not have time to organize themselves. However, at the same time, they do not allow the National Assembly to function properly. I think that the UDF must either stop speaking against the National Assembly's current membership, or face elections itself," said Petur Stoimenov from Sofia, who asked us to not reveal his address.

Many citizens proposed organizing a counterrally against the rally that was announced for Sunday by the UDF. The general impression of the citizens who called us is that the hawks are prevailing in the UDF.

Roundtable Draft Documents Published

AU0203135390 Sofia BTA in English 1308 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—The Coordinating Council of the Opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) today published in DEMOKRATSIYA the draft agreement on the political system worked out by the national round table contact group made up of representatives of all sides participating in the talks. After this package of documents was agreed upon, the UDF and the official Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) were ready to sign it, but the representatives of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] refused to. At the end of last week the BCP Supreme Council approved and published its own drafts of the documents on the problems discussed by the round table and within the contact group. The presence of two drafts actually blocked the work of the round table which has not had a session for almost a month.

The package of BCP initiatives does not contain a proposal for the political system, but a "proposal for guaranteeing the peaceful transition to a democratic political system." There is not much difference in the general formulations and proposals made by the two sides. But the draft agreement made up by the contact group (which has not been signed yet) contains more concrete proposals.

For example, it is insisted in the draft of the contact group that all in-principle proposals for the bills which are to be submitted to the National Assembly in March should be discussed in advance by the round table for the purpose of achieving consensus. Concrete proposals are made for discussing the interim status of the radio and television and the nomination of their leader, for the elimination of the state monopoly on publishing activity and the use of the available printing and publishing basis, for making public the property status of the political parties and of the leaders of parties, state, public and economic organizations.

The UDF states that the proposals of the BCP Supreme Council made last week are "another attempt to divert the work of the round table from the concrete problems and to replace them by general declarative formulations." According to the UDF its proposals agreed within the round table contact group contain "the minimum conditions for implementing a real change in the present political system which is the prerequisite for free elections."

Democrats State Views on Elections, Roundtable

AU0203225690 Sofia BTA in English 1914 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 2 (BTA)—The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) can agree to elections in June, provided they are for a constituent National Assembly, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the SDS, told the press today. The union insisted on elections at the end of the year while the Communist Party urged for the polls to be held this spring. The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] leadership recently suggested June. The SDS will accept this if the political system agreement is signed and fulfilled in its key provisions and if equal terms are provided for an election campaign. The opposition takes into account the moods in the country. Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said that the latest opinion surveys show that the population wants urgent change.

On the initiative of the SDS, its representatives will hold a consultative meeting with other opposition parties. In this connection today's news conference was told again that the SDS seeks to unite all democratic parties and groups before the elections.

It was announced that the contact group of the national roundtable talks will probably meet on March 5 and that the negotiations might possibly hold a plenary session in the middle of next week. A break of the roundtable discussions is against the interests of the SDS, its spokesman Mr. Georgi Spasov said. The BCP suggestions since the latest interruption of the proceedings were characterised by opposition officials as "old-style moves." The Union of Democratic Forces reaffirmed its stand that there will be no roundtable talks before the BCP agrees to take decisions on the dismantling of the totalitarian system.

Concerning the re-raising of the ethnic issue in connection with the forthcoming passage of a names act, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said that it was the nomenklatura in the provinces which re-raises the ethnic issue because this is its chance to oppose the democratic processes.

Burgas Port Strike Reported

AU0203113590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Feb 90 p 2

[Tsanko Raychev report: "Burgas Port Stopped Working"]

[Text] Burgas, 23 February. Despite the decisions of the Constituent Congress of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, which appealed to the workers to refrain from strikes, on 23 February a real strike began at Burgas' port complex.

An ultimatum was issued to remove six leaders from the labor collective. The motives of the ultimatum, as presented in the protest declaration of the port trade union and the chairmen of the trade union organizations, are as follows: "Those leaders have introduced disunity in the port and created a traumatic psychological atmosphere in the collective, using a Zhivkov-like style in separating the administration from the workers and inciting them against each other."

The consequences of the strike are exceptionally grave. The negative effect will be multiplied in our entire economic system. In just one day of striking, the port collective loses 150,000 leva and foreign currency equivalent to 40,000 leva. The loss caused by not unloading the train cars amounts to 60,000 leva.

Border Guard on Accident With Turkish Boat

AU0503214590 Sofia BTA in English 2110 GMT 5 Mar 90

["Bulgaria's Sea Border Trespassed"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—In connection with the Anatolian News Agency report of an incident involving a Turkish fishing boat "in neutral waters in the Black Sea", a BTA reporter approached a competent representative of the Bulgarian Border Guard who had the following to say:

"A trespassing of Bulgaria's international sea border was detected about 8 p.m. local time [1800 GMT] on March 4. Five Turkish fishing vessels have invaded Bulgarian territorial waters, 14 miles to the north of the Rezovo frontier parallel across the town of Akhtopol.

"A Bulgarian border guard patrol boat approached the area and signalled a warning to the trespassers in compliance with the international regulations. The Turkish ships maneuvered in a way which might result in a collision and then left the Bulgarian territorial waters."

Bulgaria Wants To Join Council of Europe

LD0403212490 Lisbon Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Bulgaria wishes to join the Council of Europe. The request for full membership was unexpectedly handed to the Portuguese foreign minister today, a few moments before he left Sofia at the end of a visit which lasted less than 24 hours.

Talks With EC Reach 'Common Understanding'

AU0303141090 Sofia BTA in English 2251 GMT 2 Mar 90

["EC-Bulgaria: Common Understanding on Key Matters"—BTA headline]

[Text] Brussels, March 2 (BTA correspondent)—At today's third round of talks between the European Community and Bulgaria on a trade and economic cooperation agreement, the sides reached common understanding on the key provisions of that accord.

What remains to be done is to finalize some wordings in the document's text and to complete the list of Bulgarian goods whose export to the Common Market will be liberalized .

This could be done on March 15 and 16 in Sofia, when Mr. Pablo Benavides, the chief negotiator of the Commission of the European Community for these talks, will visit Bulgaria at the head of another EC delegation which will ascertain Bulgaria's specific aid requirements in accordance with the memorandum of the Bulgarian Government on economic policy and the requirements of international aid, which was handed to the Commission of the European Community three weeks ago.

Economic Representatives Visit Washington

AU2502205890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Representatives of economic organizations in the Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, led by Konstantin Glavanakov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, paid a working visit to Washington. Important, specific talks were conducted. They were aimed at marking a new beginning in economic trade relations between Bulgaria and the United States. The first official steps were taken for effecting Bulgaria's membership in two authoritative international institutions—the IMF and the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

After active and fruitful talks with responsible leaders of the two organizations, official letters were handed over on behalf of the Bulgarian Government. They express Bulgaria's willingness to be admitted to the two international credit institutions as an equal member.

This act practically marks the beginning of the procedure of Bulgaria's joining the IMF and the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Meetings Assessed

AU2602150990 Sofia BTA in English 1406 GMT 26 Feb 90

["Bulgaria, United States: Business Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Washington, February 26 (BTA correspondent)—A delegation of representatives of the Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank headed by Mr. Konstantin Glavanakov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, were on a visit to Washington.

Talks were held on laying new beginnings of the trade and economic relations between Bulgaria and the United States. The first official steps were made for Bulgaria's joining the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The representatives of the Bulgarian business circles had talks at the Department of the Treasury, the Department of Commerce and at the office of the special representative for trade negotiations, Ms. Carla Hills.

During the talks the question was raised of accelerating the procedure for Bulgaria's joining the GATT.

The American side sees the possibilities and the proposals for the normalization of bilateral business relations in a positive light and considers it possible to activate the practical steps for extending bilateral trade.

The two sides discussed a number of problems related to normalizing the trade regime applied to Bulgarian imports and granting Bulgaria the status of most favored nation in her trade relations with the United States. Using the programmes and the different forms of assistance which the United States extends to the East European countries was also discussed.

Mr. Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Council, also paid a visit to Washington. He had talks at the Department of State, with state undersecretary Roy Zeitz, at the National Security Council and at the Congress of the United States.

Dienstbier Addresses National Council Seminar

LD0503140790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0915 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Speech by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier at seminar with Czech National Council deputies in Czech Parliament Building—live relay]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen deputies, I am glad that I have the opportunity to share with you our visions of the new form for Czechoslovak foreign policy. We are only at the very beginning, but the goals are obvious: We must return Czechoslovakia—torn away for decades from its natural environment—to the path that will again make our country an organic part of Europe, that will lead it back among the economically and politically advanced countries, where long ago, and for a long time, it belonged.

The revolutionary changes in our country and in other countries of Central and East Europe have made it possible for us to open fully to Europe and the world. The political development shows the obsolete character of international institutions and often of our thinking, too, accustomed, because of one thing or another, to a bipolar worldview. In this period, when the European integration processes are entering a new phase, we are remaining—thanks to the past development—outside, and thus it is our task, our pledge, and appeal to engage ourselves with initiative in this effort.

This is why in our new foreign policy, we do proceed from the thousand-year-old heritage of European civilization and European culture—which is the idea of rights for mankind and citizens, which must be implemented in a common legal framework. We are striving for the natural interests of a pluralist society to be asserted also on the international scale. We support the unification of Europe on the basis of new principles of a new security system, which will gradually replace the bipolar bloc structures with a system of collective security and cooperation from Vladivostok to San Francisco. Finally, we want to participate actively in the common European economy, proceeding consistently on respect for the natural conditions.

The division of Europe is a remnant of the past. The path toward overcoming it is shown by the Helsinki process. Its start, 15 years ago, has opened possibilities for the development of independent democratic movements. In the present stage of development, it offers itself as a means for the creation of a new pluralistic and democratic Europe. We therefore ask, as the president of the Republic suggested before the U.S. Congress, for the next followup meeting to be held before 1992, for it to become a kind of a peace conference which would put a definite conclusion to not only World War II but also the cold war, and establish the foundations for new European institutions.

We want to put forward the first proposals in June at the Copenhagen conference, a conference on human rights held in the framework of the CSCE. We want to be constructive and want to utilize all the existing instruments in the transitional period. This also is true about our participation in the Warsaw Pact, because disarmament, the defense doctrines, and collective security are discussed more easily between partners than on a bilateral basis among 35 states. This should be the main and in fact the final task of the pacts. This also requires the organization of the Warsaw Pact on the principle of equality of sovereign member states. We are pleased to hear that others also take a similar stand. In the effort for European disarmament, one can expect the achievement of the first agreement this year. We are striving for the greatest possible reduction of troops and individual classes of armament. The last proposals put forward by President Bush for the reduction of U.S. and Soviet troops in Central Europe to 195,000 men on each side pleased us because this proposal has already been approved at the recent conference in Ottawa.

In Ottawa we also started talks on the "open sky," the successful conclusion of which would contribute to the strengthening of trust in Europe. I myself said there that the talks on the open sky prove the absurdity of our situation—because the sky has been open for at least 30 years since it is possible using satellite pictures to read automobile number plates, etc.—and talks are continuing on whether there should be 15, 17, or however many flights. However, I do believe that this too is important because if this principle is adopted in some international legal documents, this would then open up considerably more possibilities for the control over all the other disarmament proposals and procedures. Thus, if this agreement is concluded, and this should occur in the spring of this year in Budapest, this would be a true breakthrough in arms control.

However, we shall not build Europe by words but by concrete cooperation in the solution of concrete questions. Thus I believe that above all, relations with neighboring countries are of exceptional importance. The dynamic developments of recent months have evoked the question of the unification of Germany and this has to be viewed not as an isolated matter but within the European context. If Europe goes via the path of integration, democracy, and plurality, then there is no reason to be afraid of a united and democratic Germany.

The solution of this question on the basis of talks, called at the recent Ottawa conference under the formula two plus four—this is now called new mathematics, and two plus four equals five. That is: two German states plus four powers can, in our opinion, be only the first stage of the talks that should be concluded by the conference of the 35 states of the Helsinki process which would represent not only a basic turn in understanding but also in the institutionalization of our concept of security.

We fully support, however, the Polish demand to take part in the talks on the inviolability of the western border of Poland on the Odra-Nysa. This is mainly because we should never again allow anything like the Munich, the

Molotov-Ribbentrop pacts, or the Yalta agreements, when some participants discussed the fate of many European states, and we all know our experience from this. We believe that the Polish borders, just like any other borders, should be definitely confirmed, that later on they can become insignificant, and that they will be only of such importance as the border between regions today, for example, like the borders that are developing between the 12 West European countries.

On 17 March, ministers of Warsaw Pact member countries will meet in Prague to examine all the questions connected with the development in Germany which, in our opinion, should, and we shall assert it there, not be viewed as an isolated matter but fundamentally in connection with the development of the whole of Europe and the question of the unification of Germany. The unification of Germany as such should be used as an instrument for the acceleration and deepening of the Helsinki process.

In our relations with Germans, as neighbors, we still have in front of us some remnants of the past. As you know, a short time ago, our public was excited by questions, discussions about the German minority in pre-war Czechoslovakia—specifically circumstances around the displacement of Germans after 1945. During talks with Ministers Mock and Genscher, we agreed to clarify the difficult periods of our history and the first steps in this direction should be taken by the already established independent commission of historians.

We have been neighbors for more than one thousand years and we shall continue to be neighbors in the future, too. We must, therefore, strive for these neighborly relations to be good and beneficial for our nation and other European nations. With the good will on both sides—and we can also see hints even from the side of Sudeten Germans and some groups—we can, I think, achieve a situation where we can count Sudeten Germans and their children as our countrymen, who just like Czechs and Slovaks and their children in many countries of the world are interested in the fate of the homeland of their predecessors.

During my last working visit to the FRG, we signed protocols on the mechanism of consultations between departments of Foreign Ministries, and as you know, also agreements on the establishment of cultural and information centers. We have approved the opening of general consulates and of new border crossings. We are also discussing the simplification of visa obligations and it is our aim to abolish this obligation completely as we have achieved this with Hungary and as we are also discussing this with other European countries.

I think that it would be sensible to broaden contacts between representative bodies, above all after the elections in Czechoslovakia. And we consider it useful to develop contacts between the Czech National Council and the land assembly of North Rhine-Westphalia. I think that it would be very useful and there is a great interest in this from the Bavarian side to establish direct contact and cooperation with the Bavarian land assembly. Hamburg is also very interested in cooperation and I think that there would not be any problem at all in creating very friendly relations between the Hamburg Senate and the Czech National Council.

We also wanted to develop and deepen our relations with the other German neighbor—the GDR. We are interested in the interlinking of economies and scientific-technical potentials. We wanted to strive for free movement of citizens, goods, capital, labor forces, and so on. However, the future development of Germany will obviously put us in front of similar tasks in quite a different way.

Our big neighbor—on which for many years our national economy has been oriented—is, naturally, the Soviet Union. We consider it useful to develop Czechoslovak-Soviet relations in the spirit of the declaration adopted during the visit of President Havel in Moscow, which stresses the equality, noninterference, and full mutual respect of state sovereignty. I would like to add to this that the atmosphere in Moscow was indeed excellent, just as the atmosphere was in Washington before that. We are still somewhat surprised with it all, because we have not yet done enough to be received by the world in such a way as we are being received and listened to. I think that this is for us, in all directions, a great obligation.

We have managed, in a very short time indeed—in fact, in the course of only a few weeks—to conclude an agreement on the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia by June of next year. While during the talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and Eduard Shevardnadze it was promised that the Soviet side would, on its own initiative, attempt to reduce, to bring forward this deadline, above all before the election of this year, a majority of military units should be withdrawn from our towns by the end of the year or by the beginning of next year. All the combat units should leave; there then would remain only various storerooms, cultural establishments, and so on.

I believe thus that this signed agreement and above all the atmosphere exhibited on both sides during these talks create a new situation—in short, the most serious obstacle in our mutual relations has been removed. These relations should be opened for all social structures which are being created in our country and in the Soviet Union, with the advancing plurality and with the decentralization of the political power and with the changes in the management of the economic sphere. We also want to keep our advantageous positions on the Soviet market for which—with the advancing reforms—there will, no doubt, be a great fight in the world and here we have a certain head start if we, naturally, are able in this competition to offer such values and goods for this advantage, and utilize this head start of ours.

We shall, naturally, look for new forms of participation in this market, including cooperation with western companies, the coordination of our effort with Poland, Hungary, and possibly other countries. Also multinational companies, with Soviet participation, can be set up. All these are matters that will have to be worked out further. I repeat, we all are only at the very beginning and naturally we cannot, in a matter of few months, dismantle all the negative influences that have accumulated in the 40 years, nor can we create new structures.

Our relations with Poland and Hungary have many common features. Historical traditions and the similarity of internal political development, however, offer new possibilities and scope for active cooperation practically in all spheres. We would like to coordinate with these countries our efforts to return to Europe. Our stands are very close on the quite radical reform of CEMA and the modernization of the Warsaw Pact.

We have started solving—in a quite friendly and democratic spirit—some problems in our relations. In the case of Poland, we want to work toward a solution on questions in the sphere of tourism, above all we shall deal with tourism in the border areas [maly pohranicni styk] and this, no doubt, will also be an urgent issue for the Czech National Council. We are getting ourselves into a very paradoxical situation indeed, we are opening ourselves to the world and, in fact, today we have fewer possibilities for mutual tourism with Poland than with Austria, for example. This is entirely illogical and it should remain our very close political goal to remove these anomolies.

With Hungary, we have had that great problem—Gabcikovo-Nagymaros [water project]—as you know. This is now being tackled and let us hope that it will be solved soon in such a way that this problem is entirely removed from our mutual relations.

As you know, we have started a new stage in our relations with Austria by a symbolic wire-cutting on the Austrian border, by signing an agreement on a visa-free contact, and also by the official visit of the premier and other members of the federal government in Austria. Austrian Foreign Minister Mock is arriving in our country the day after tomorrow for a visit. The chairman of the Federal Assembly will go to Austria in April. Here are the traditional opportunities for dealing with many joint economic, transport, communication, and other issues but as you yourself know, it also depends on the changes in our legislation that are being prepared. We need to sign the prepared agreement on the support and protection of investments. We are considering an agreement that would prevent double taxation and so on. We are also considering agreements on the environment, on tourism, and so on.

In reinforcing these relations on the federal level, we should make better use of regional contacts. As you know, there are contacts of some Czech and Moravian regions with Austrian Federal provinces and we welcome the prepared establishment of contacts of the Czech National Council with Styria's Parliament and of the Slovak National Council with the Parliament of Tyrol.

The relations of Czechoslovakia with the Anglo-Saxon countries, mainly the Unite States and Great Britain, suffered most, perhaps, during the cold war. We isolated ourselves from the dynamic advancement of this country in economy, culture, arts, and education. Natural human contacts were interrupted for decades. This policy also contributed considerably to our current backwardness. We can say with satisfaction that our open effort to normalize our relations with all countries and consequently with these states, too, has so far been recieved very positively. This was confirmed not only during our visits but also during the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Baker in Prague. As you know the president of the Republic will soon visit Britain in addition to France. We would like to get our relations with France to at least the same level as they were before the war and to link up to the abundant pre-war traditions.

Therefore, we decided with Foreign Minister Dumas in Paris 14 days ago that we will create competent operational commissions next to the ministries—and this has already been seen to—to ensure that all opportunities are taken advantage of to prepare, as quickly as possible, a list of all possible forms of cooperation. The same applies to Britain. I made a similar agreement in Ottawa with the British Foreign secretarty and all this is under way. We feel that as we have neglected these relations for so long, we have no time to wait for anything.

As you know, with regard to the normalization of our relations, another important foreign political step in this direction was the normalization of our relations with the Holy See. The restoration of the representative missions in the Vatican and Prague is being prepared. As you know, after Easter, we are expecting the historic visit of Pope John Paul II.

I could continue in this way, but if you are interested in relations with particular countries, we can go back to it in the discussion. Because if I were to describe here the ways of our negotiations with particular countries, I could just as well stay here until the evening.

I would only like to stress in particular the growing importance of interparliamentary contacts. The fact was very symbolic that the European Parliament awarded the Andrey Sakharov Prize to the chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly. We do not of course, focus only on the European dimension of Czechoslovak foreign relations. We also possess a number of traditional and important partners, both present and potential, in the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Australia, and Oceania. In two weeks time, we will sign an agreement on establishing diplomatic relations with South Korea and we are entering into talks with Thailand. The Thai minister of foreign affairs will arrive in the next few days. We shall also have talks with Saudi Arabia.

We very much neglected relations with the countries of the Pacific Ocean region, which now belong on a list of those countries that push the world economy forward. They should and could become our reliable partner and a source of modern technology. As you know, Vera Caslavska, plays the role of a forward based ambassador there. Caslavska is so popular in Japan that, to this day, after so many years, she cannot even go out in the street because people would tear off her buttons as lucky charms. She is playing a very important role there now; businessmen can contact her in an established place. We are, of course, interested in developing stable relations and economic cooperation with the People's Republic of China and with other major partners in this region. As you know, we have resumed our diplomatic relations with Israel recently, by which we rectified the error made in 1967, and by taking this step, we wish to enhance our position in the Near East region. And in order to make our contribution to the support of all just requirements of the peoples living in this part of the world, we wish to contribute to implementing a just, peaceful solution which would fully respect both the right of the Palestinian people to national self-determination and the right of the state of Israel to a safe and peaceful development.

Depending on the development of the situation in the Republic of South Africa, depending on the progress of the democratization process, we also intend to gradually renew relations with South Africa, which will include the reopening of the consulate in Johanesbourg. Diplomatic relations with Chile will be also reestablished fully, as a properly elected government is taking power there.

Concerning relations with developing countries as a whole, we are aware of the necessity to examine the possibly of mutual advantages. At the same time, we take into account their varied characters and the political roles they are playing in many world issues—above all in the Nonaligned Movement—through which they will, naturally, also play in questions concerning the worldwide economy. Our policy, in fact has to be and should remain dynamic because everything is changing fast and we must play an active role in these processes.

One of the most important tasks and possibly the most difficult one for our foreign policy is the opening of the path to Europe for our economy above all. We expect that proposals for the economic dimension of the all-European process will be introduced in March and April by the upcoming Bonn conference on economic cooperation within the framework of the Helsinki process. Czechoslovakia originally strived for this conference, but could not have it because of the brutal violation of human rights. Now we can go to this conference already having rid ourselves of the regime which prevented our international recognition and our acceptance in Europe and we shall be indeed active there. As you know today, European communities and other integration groupings are playing an important role in modeling the face of our continent. We value the fact that our interest in cooperation with these communities meets with a very favorable response. At the same time, we are aware of the fact that Czechoslovakia, too, also has its importance for their further activity and this was reflected in all our talks with representatives of integrated groupings. We have already started talks this year about a new framework agreement and trade and economic cooperation with European communities, and as we also discussed at our meeting with Mr. (Andersen) on Friday in Brussels, we want to make progress in the clarification of various possible forms of our association. For this we have worked out very concrete and detailed proposals and talks are now being held at a very concrete level about all forms of cooperation and association.

This concerns all those very important problems from Eureka to Kopernik. As you know, we have submitted an application form for the European Council and we want to become an active member as soon as possible. This month, I will be attending a conference of ministers of foreign affairs of the European Council in Lisbon, to which I have already been invited. We will naturally join in the European convention on human rights and other conventions of the European Council, above all those of a humanitarian and educational character, which could possibly be decisive for us at the moment.

As I stated previously somwhere, our average standard abroad is high but our best people do not meet the world standard. Basically this is not the fault of our people as they had no opportunity to come into contact with modern technologies, they had no opportunity to go abroad in any other way than to go shopping to Munich or Vienna or to go to the seaside in a car filled with tins. Therefore, since I have come to the ministry I have personally tried to obtain the greatest possible number of stipends in various areas in the training of managers, and I think that currently we have been given quite a number of offers which we should make use of. I would like to mention in this connection that only NATO offered us 60 stipends in the area of political and social sciences which we have given to the Czech and Slovak Ministry of Education to make sure that they are being used as quickly as possible.

Our dialogue with the countries of the European Association of Free Market—in short with all European structures—is becoming active, too.

The foundation of the European Bank for Renovation and Development is a very important and interesting project for us. Its activity is to facilitate the economic and social advancement of Central and Eastern Europe and we must prepare ourselves today for an active participation in this Bank. We offered our capital city as its center because if we are to be included in Europe, new European institutions should be placed, in our opinion, in our country, in this part of the world, and this applies today above all to this bank. As you know, the proposal to open this bank in Prague was also put forward by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. It is understandable that we are trying to get involved as soon as possible in all world banks and financial institutions. We have asked for the renewal of our membership in the International

Monetary Fund and in the World Bank. We are also interested in participation in various prospective regional projects such as the Initiative of Four—Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, and Hungary—in the advancement of cooperation in transport, telecommunication, environment, small business, culture, and so on and we are considering whether we should not create a similar regional group in the northern direction, towards Poland and Scandinavia. Because as you know, we are also a Baltic country, Szczecin is our commercial sea port, and we are also a Scandinavian country because along with the GDR and Poland we are the biggest pollutants of the environment in Scandinavia.

And therefore we are interested in being able to jointly resolve in particular the questions of ecology.

If I adhered to a well known ministerial approach, I could deal here with one issue after another, but I will not burden you with that. I could speak about the work in UNESCO, in the UN, and so on. If anyone is interested in it then we can go back to it in the discussion.

I spoke here about cultural, scientific, and other contacts, about which we must raise our awareness. The means and the speed with which we manage to gain the latest information and knowledge depends on how soon we are able to rejoin the most advanced countries, of which we were once a part. But here I am transgressing to an area where the limits of state foreign policy touch upon the endless space of the possibile activity of a civic society. Foreign policy is able to and must create a scope for establishing relations. It is able to and must promote them and act as their mediator. It is able to and must interfere in the cases where relations are facing either existing or arising obstacles. However, it is unable to fulfill or replace the real relations between people and cultural, political, economic, or other institutions. This is a matter for each student and worker, for each village and town, each scientific institute, political party, higher or secondary school, trade union, or flower-lovers' association. In short, it is a matter for each of us irrespective of how we intend to and manage to involve ourselves in the forming of our common European home. It depends on what we learn to accept, but first and foremost what we are able to offer to others so that they can find it interesting and useful. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Dienstbier Reviews NATO, EC Discussions

LD0303225790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier returned from his visit to Denmark, The Netherlands, and Belgium today. Petr Marek asked him to evaluate his visit and today's visit to Brussels, the seat of NATO:

[Begin Dienstbier recording, in Czech] Well, I think it was very successful. Our delegation was received everywhere with great interest. Sometimes I am surprised by the interest with which they all receive us, because so far we have not done anything so great—all that is still before us. We have a lot of offers, for grants, for cooperation in various areas, economic, cultural, and others with the European Community. During the meeting with Mr. Andriessen (?we discussed) the European Community's foreign relations. An agreement will be signed soon between Czechoslovakia and the European Community but most importantly an agreement will be prepared—we could say a second generation agreement—in which we will be preparing our particular association with the Community.

Discussion in the seat of NATO was excellent. I spoke with secretary-general Woerner and then all the ambassadors of the NATO member states. It was originally planned for an hour, it took an hour-and-three-quarters, and we could have gone on for many hours if I did not have to leave for the airport. NATO has given us 60 grants for students of various political and social sciences. So as you can see it is not only an interst in words, but a very concrete interest in cooperation. We also agreed that we would continue these talks. We spoke about the future of Europe, the unification of Germany, and many questions of the future security system which would replace the present bipolar security system with a pluralist system. [end recording]

Dubcek in France; Aims To Increase Cooperation

LD0403172290 Prague CTK in English 1648 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 4 (CTK)—"My visit to France should lay basis for further cooperation between the parliaments of the two countries", Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek told CTK before leaving for a three-day official visit to France today during which he will meet with National Assembly President Laurent Fabius, French President Francois Mitterrand, Premier Dubcek said he intends to express his dissatisfaction with the development of bilateral relations at his meeting with representatives of the French-Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce. "The aim of my visit is to contribute to the process of formation or rather restoration of the best possible contacts between France and Czechoslovakia before a summit meeting of the two countries' representatives", he underlined.

Dealing with the possibility of Czechoslovakia's admission to the European Community, Alexander Dubcek said that the Czechoslovak parliament should create such legislation which would harmonize with the current development in modern Europe. "This is the only way we can enter the European Community", he said.

Meets With Fabius, Mitterrand

LD0503213690 Prague CTK in English 2002 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Paris March 5 (CTK correspondent)—President of the French National Assembly Laurent Fabius emphasized here today that Alexander Dubcek is a symbol for France and its people.

At a luncheon given here today in honour of the chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, Laurent Fabius said that France watched with great interest the Prague Spring reform movement 22 years ago and welcomed with sympathy the Czechoslovak Velvet Revolution.

Alexander Dubcek pointed out the significance of the official visit of French President Francois Mitterrand to Czechoslovakia in December 1988. The French president told his hosts that France recognizes the Prague Spring and praises this movement and people who represented it. "At that time it was great moral support that raised heads of those suppressed", he added.

Alexander Dubcek expressed the wish that France and Czechoslovakia stand as close as possible as the roots of their relations date back to the past, to the time of the birth of the independent Czechoslovak republic.

Earlier today, Alexander Dubcek and Laurent Fabius held a working meeting in the parliament. He informed French partners of the present situation in Czechoslovakia and stressed the necessity of its return to Europe. The two sides exchanged views on the reunification of Germany and further development of relations in Europe. In this connection, Alexander Dubcek appreciated Francois Mitterrand's proposal to create an European confederation.

French President Francois Mitterrand received here today Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek.

The two representatives paid main attention to prospects for the development of Czechoslovak-French relations.

Alexander Dubcek and Francois Mitterrand informed each other of their stands on reunification of Germany and on prospects for the development of Europe.

Francois Mitterrand spoke of his visit to Prague in 1988, when he met with the then dissident Vaclav Havel and said that he is looking forward to welcoming the Czechoslovak president in France within two weeks. He informed his guest of details of his project for establishing a European confederation.

Alexander Dubcek acquainted the French president with the present situation in Czechoslovakia. He said he would welcome in Czechoslovakia could rely on France during its return to Europe.

Francois Mitterrand expressed the wish that an "international agreement" confirm the Oder-Neisse line as the border between Poland and future unified Germany.

Alexander Dubcek said in this connection that Czechoslovakia supports Poland's stand concerning the border, and added that Czechoslovakia is not against German reunification if it takes place in the framework of the European process.

Further Reportage

WA0503120090

For further reportage on the visit of Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek's visit to France, including reports on his talks with Laurent Fabius and Francois Mitterrand, please see the France section of the 5 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Participation in German Unity Talks Desired

AU0103104090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 90 p 6

[Jiri Roskot commentary: "Two Plus More"]

[Text] Should a united Germany be in NATO? President Bush and Chancellor Kohl say "yes," although, according to the United States, the pact's military units should not extend east of the Elbe. The Soviet point of view on the idea of a united Germany's membership in NATO is lukewarm. Now it is indeed impossible to counter the feeling that balance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO will vacillate and that a disparity will ensue which may entangle development.

The unification of Germany provokes responses in which fears are also reflected. Prime Minister Thatcher, for example, has commented that it is impossible to say "Let us unite" and everything else will be resolved later; it is impossible to ignore the history of this century as if nothing had happened. Guarantees and assurances are the issue, not whipping up passions. Poland's head of government, Mazowiecki, wants to give priority to a peaceful agreement guaranteeing Poland the security of its borders, while treaties between both German states and Poland should be initialed before German unification and then signed by the government of a united Germany. Polish defense doctrine also envisages continuing its membership in the Warsaw Pact.

It would be beneficial if the reunification of Germany were to be accompanied by guarantees from the beginning. Beneficial, in the interest of the Helsinki process and international trust, without which European security is impossible. This is applicable both to the demand that no threat to peace should emanate from Germany and to the issue of secure borders associated with this. It would not be out of place if, in this spirit, Czechoslovakia were also to participate in the first part—at least—of the conference on unification devoted to the security of the countries bordering Germany. At the moment, this conference is planned according to the formula "two German states plus four great powers."

Troop Withdrawal Proceeding 'Exactly' as Planned

AU0503123290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Mar 90 p 1

[CTK report: "The Troops Are Withdrawing According to Plan"]

[Text] Prague—By seven o'clock on the morning of 2 March, seven trains carrying Soviet military equipment and soldiers left Czechoslovakia; two trains were already on their way and, during the day, four trains were loaded with combat equipment and another train was loaded with military materials. This corresponds exactly to the fixed timetable. It means that 118 tanks, 44 combat vehicles, 38 trucks, and 564 people have crossed the border. The Soviet side is paying for the railroad transfer. The largest amount of combat equipment possible should be removed from our territory by the end of 1990. The Soviet Army has undertaken to substantially reduce the intensity of military exercises. This reduction is associated with the removal of equipment. Should the Central Group of Soviet Forces want to use its equipment or conduct exercises with munitions, it will seek the agreement of the local national committee.

Joint Military Forces Complete Exercises

LD0403183590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] The planned joint military exercises of the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Central Group of Soviet troops, "Druzba-1990", ended today with the final phases of the defense and attack battles. As agreed to by the armed forces commander-in-chief and the the president of the republic, Vaclav Havel, some 5,000 of our troops and more than 1,200 Soviet soldiers took part in them. This was, for economic, ecological and political reasons, a considerably smaller number than originally planned. The aim was to test commanders for leadership abilities and the staff in their abilities to organize defense.

Komarek Discusses Past, Economy's Future

PM0103100590 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 6 Feb 90 p 13

[Report on interview with Czechoslovak First Deputy Prime Minister Valtr Komarek by W. Woltz in Davos; date not given: "Moral Dilemmas of a Prague Economist"]

[Text] Davos, 6 Feb—Poles, East Germans, Czechs, Soviets. This weekend they came in groups to what was once a devil's nest of capitalism—the World Economic Forum in Davos. The businessmen who want joint ventures were there, as were the bankers who are able to invest. Modrow was there for East Germany, Jaruzelski for Poland, Deputy Prime Minister Abalkin in the name of the Soviet Union, and Valtr Komarek for Czechoslovakia.

The one said it more clearly than the other, but the message was that Marx has only historico-scientific interest. The Soviets were somber, hesitant, and cautious; the East European countries were happily on the road to "liberalism," the "free market economy," and "pluralism."

Valtr Komarek, until recently the head of the Czechoslovak Institute for Economic Forecasting, is now first deputy prime minister and responsible for economic affairs. Clearly excited, he sketched the farewell to socialism: In Prague yesterday a law was put before parliament restoring private property. Tens of thousands of small businesses such as restaurants, grocery stores, and clothes stores will quickly pass into private hands.

Later there will be a law allowing the privatization of large enterprises. Through share sales to Czechoslovaks, joint ventures, and complete sales to foreign investors, everything is possible. The whole of Czechoslovakia is up for sale. The draft laws are based on German company law, so the rest of the world can be reassured.

Komarek is relatively short and stocky. He has a large shock of hair, heavy spectacles, and a beard—the archetypal East European intellectual. The first deputy prime minister is a lifelong member of the Communist Party. It is true that he had divergent views, but he is not to be called a dissident. He left the party only three weeks ago. Does what Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said in Davos—"If I had to dismiss all the unsuitable people in my ministry I would not have a single civil servant left"—also apply to Komarek? Komarek has clear ideas about the economic future of his country. "There are two schools of thought. The first is in favor of a rigorous approach in accordance with the monetary theories of Milton Friedman. That is, strict control of the money supply and realistic prices. A shock cure that must produce a market system within a year or two.

"The second direction says that a transitional phase is necessary to revitalize the economy and to make enterprises competitive. This is possible through making them independent and self-managing, through privatization and the partial introduction of real market prices. I believe that we have to adopt this partial road, that we must learn from the lessons of Poland. Too drastic monetary reforms could lead to social unrest and strikes, and that could be catastrophic."

Komarek does not underestimate the difficulties. "Our isolation makes the transition to a market economy risky. We do not know too much about the financial secrets of the West, but we know what has happened in our kitchen and it smells stale. In our centrally managed economy it is very difficult to make value comparisons; appreciation and redistribution are very complicated in Czechoslovakia. There is no freely operating system of supply and demand; prices are arbitrary and are determined more by social than by economic considerations. That is one of the major problems when it comes to selling off enterprises. What, for example, is land worth? All land is the property of the state, and so there is no market value. Naturally, a square meter in central Prague is more expensive than one in a residential area, but by how much?

"Our average hourly wage is approximately $1.50, but in reality that hourly wage is probably $4. Soon there will be a law making it possible—for foreigners, too—to buy and own shares in Czechoslovak enterprises without restrictions and with guarantees. Then again you are faced with the question: What valuation should we put on enterprises? The whole of Czechoslovak industry is perhaps worth two quadrillion (15 zeros) crowns, but national reserves only amount to 10 percent of this. Thus we need foreign capital, but we realize that people do not climb over each other to buy inefficient enterprises. First we must bring them up to standard."

Komarek's monologues—a conversation is not possible with this academic—give rise to remarkable feelings. So much recognition of mistakes, so much distancing from the mismanagement of the past. He has been a communist all his life, as an economist in important posts he has thought in terms of the rigid plan economy. How is it possible now to defend the blessings of the market economy with so much conviction? When did he come to the conclusion that totalitarian socialism does not work?

Komarek, unmoved: "This is a personal question and I am not inclined to answer it. But I will. In the war my parents and I were imprisoned in a concentration camp. After that I studied economics in Moscow—as it happens, at the same university as Gorbachev. Moscow was not what I expected: I saw drunkards, beggars, many war invalids, squalor. Then I thought: If this is socialism I am against it.

"After my return in 1954 I worked at the State Planning Bureau with a group of economists proposing to reform Czechoslovak industry. Less emphasis on heavy industry, greater emphasis on the sectors in which we had always been strong. Precision tools, light industry, shoes, textiles, refined chemicals. This proposal was attacked by the dogmatists and the bosses of the large state enterprises. It was more than an objective or scientific difference of opinion; it became an ideological conflict. The Soviets were in favor of heavy industry; that was their idea of the building of socialism. I was branded a Trotskyite and the secret police followed my every move.

"It happened at that time that I discussed these problems with a Cuban delegation and was invited to become Ernesto 'Che' Guevara's adviser. At that time Che was governor of the Cuban Central Bank and industry minister. I talked with him for thousands of hours about tackling the Cuban economy. I advised him against setting up heavy industries, as the Soviets wanted, but instead to develop agriculture, to produce sugar derivatives, and to strengthen tourism.

"Che agreed with me and he supported me. He became disillusioned with the inertia of the Soviet economy and with the cynicism of the Cuban intellectuals. In my view he understood that classical communism must fail. As a romantic idealist he could not bear that. After our last conversation he went away, he fled, joined the guerrillas, and in doing so committed political suicide, as it were. When the support from Che fell away, I lost the debate and the Soviets won. That is why I went back to Prague."

In the Prague Spring of 1968 attention began to be paid in Czechoslovakia to economic reforms. But this renaissance only lasted a short time and Komarek was in fact dismissed, although he was allowed to hold unimportant jobs. Only when the Soviet Union's perestroyka began did he become director of the newly created Institute for Economic Forecasting.

[Woltz] And you remained a party member all those years?

[Komarek] "Well, it offered some physical protection at least. In November last year I wrote an open letter to the Central Committee in which I demanded that it make a public apology to the people for the mistakes made, otherwise there would be no place for me in the party. This apology was not forthcoming, but Civic Forum asked me to become part of the government. The party did not agree to that, and finally in January I resigned from the party."

[Woltz] You asked the Central Committee to offer the people an apology, but were you as an important member not jointly responsible for the mistakes and the moral turpitude?

Obvious emotion on the part of the deputy prime minister.

[Komarek] "That is indeed a moral problem. It cannot be seen in isolation from the historical context, from the society in which a person lives and acts. Everyone thinks about morality, but in practice only a few people are beyond reproach. Whether in the political sphere or in private life: Everyone has his weak points. But party membership does not say everything about a person; I know communist doctors who are ready day and night to treat their patients and noncommunists who are corrupt and who neglect their patients.

"In a totalitarian situation people conform outwardly to the prevailing morals and isolate themselves in microsocieties where they live, work, and die. People act according to double moral standards, an unwritten social contract that everyone knows. Workers are allowed to be idle and steal, as long as they come to party meetings and applaud. Only a small mafia of party bosses and enterprise bosses took it seriously; the rest of the people cut themselves off.

"There were few heroes who protested openly and ran the risk of prison. However, the base for resistance was broader in Czechoslovakia, a process of self-emancipation got under way, for example, in the group of economists to which I belonged and among the intelligentsia. This self-emancipation has been extremely valuable and was in my view responsible for the fact that the revolutionary process in Czechoslovakia passed off very differently from that in Romania. The biggest mistake we could make now is to give in to the euphoria of the young and destroy the economy in a rash moment. That is how you destroy the self-emancipation, and that would be disastrous."

Komarek is hopeful about the future. "Our industry is outmoded and inefficient, but there is a strong base. We make the same amount of steel as Britain, much too much really, but because our prices are so much the product of the imagination we can dump it successfully. Our production of tools and machines is as great as that of Italy, and as a shoe producer we are in fifth or sixth place in the world. We are strong in the textile field and our beer is well known. There will have to be enormous investment in the infrastructure and in trade and industry. But I can see no reason why within five to ten years we cannot be as strong economically as Italy or Austria.

"You can be sure of one thing: The revolution from a totalitarian centrally governed state to a pluralistic democracy is irreversible. We belong to Europe, culturally we have a lot to offer and we want to integrate further—after all, we are not a distant, exotic country. Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union also need help, but their problems are different and greater. If the West genuinely wants to help, Czechoslovakia is an excellent beginning. Our country could be a dress rehearsal for the others."

So with the introduction of the free market economy socialist solidarity flies out the window: In Eastern Europe it's every man for himself.

Bank Official Explains Foreign Debt Increase

AU0503104790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Engineer Jaromir Zahradnik, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, by Pavel Paral; place and date not given: "What Is Our Debt"]

[Text] [Paral] Last week there was a published report that our foreign debt was $8 billion at the end of last year. As recently as last fall we mentioned a lower figure. Therefore I have asked Engineer Jaromir Zahradnik, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, for an explanation of the situation regarding our debt.

How did our foreign debt change in the past year?

[Zahradnik] At the beginning of 1989 our foreign debt was $7.3 billion, at the end, $7.9 billion. The gross debt increased by $600 million. At the beginning of the year the debt fell slightly, and at the end of the year it increased again.

[Paral] Last November, however, in a discussion with S. Potac, former chairman of the State Bank, we were told the size of the foreign debt was $6.9 billion.

[Zahradnik] This can be explained by the fact that the joint ventures' debts were not included in the Czechoslovak debt. The drop in the dollar exchange rate also had an impact. Despite the fact that the debt expressed in foreign exchange korunas remained the same, when converted to dollars it went up.

[Paral] Can you tell us who accounts for the debt growth?

[Zahradnik] The biggest share in the increase is accounted for by joint ventures, especially in the sphere of tourism. Their liabilities increased by $269 million. Banks and foreign trade enterprises account for the same share in the increase—$170 million each. But we should talk also about assets. He who speaks only about debt is not telling everything. Banks' ready claims [pohotove pohledavky] increased by $500 million. Bank assets thus grew much more rapidly than their liabilities. Recovery of debts was favorable, especially in December. It seems that the foreign exchange retention quotas introduced on 1 January 1989 have brought results. Assets of the foreign trade enterprises have also grown, although here a major part of the assets are tied up in long-term credits. It can be said, therefore, that the problem is focused on joint ventures.

[Paral] However, tourism is supposed to become an important source of hard currency....

[Zahradnik] We are counting on the income increase from tourism and we want to use this income to finance the travel of our citizens abroad. However, if we borrow on a large scale for the construction of hotels, the repayment of the debt will absorb a great portion of the hard currency income. One of the possibilities arising today is to permit private accommodation. Demand for beds would be thereby partially satisfied and, in addition to that, citizens would be able to acquire hard currency legally, and requests for hard currency allocations from the central source would be reduced. This could have a beneficial effect on the fall of the much-criticized tourist exchange rate which, after the opening of the borders, is created by the market, i.e. on the basis of the supply and demand mechanism.

[Paral] Was it not the very increase of private travel by our citizens abroad which had an impact on the increase of the debt?

[Zahradnik] The opening of our borders last December indeed caused pressure on our payment balance. In a single month we exchanged over $50 million. This did not lead to an increase of our foreign debt, but it siphoned off a portion of our ready assets, and that is why it did have an impact on our hard currency situation.

[Paral] What is your overall assessment of out indebtedness?

[Zahradnik] Last year's debt increase in no way represents a dramatic change of our situation; we are still considered abroad to be a creditworthy debtor. This does not mean, however, that we should start to consider taking large credits without their repayment being guaranteed.

Trade Unions Form New, Largest Confederation

LD0303183990 Prague CTK in English 1737 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 3 (CTK)—A total of 42 Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak trade unions formed here Saturday a new, the so far biggest Czechoslovak trade union centre, the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions.

The confederation will be independent of political parties and movements and of state and economic bodies. Its aim will be to harmonize individual member unions' activities in negotiations with the government and in international actions.

The Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions was established at the close of an extraordinary two-day trade union congress which opened here yesterday.

The congress was attended by trade unions which were part of the only Czechoslovak trade union centre—the revolutionary trade union movement in the past forty years (1949-1989).

In harmony with the wish of trade unionists, the congress abolished the revolutionary trade union movement as a discredited organisation and set up a special commission in charge of transferring the property of the former revolutionary trade union movement to the newly-constituted trade unions.

Twelve of the sixty unions present at the congress have already created "The Czechoslovak Trade Union Confederation of Workers in Culture and Art" late February. Other unions which took part in the congress, but have not so far joined the confederation, will decide about their future course in the next few weeks. However, it is clear today that some of the Slovak trade unions will form their own confederation of trade unions.

Confederation Representatives Meet Press

LD0303225390 Prague CTK in English 1937 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Prague March 3 (CTK)—"We will not allow the return of a totalitarian regime any more. We want to reach an agreement with the government. These should have been the conclusions of the trade union congress. Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek told newsmen after the end of a two-day trade union congress here Saturday.

Representatives of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) Stephen Pursey underlined the importance of the statute and internal regulations of a strong independent organisation.

Representatives of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions told the newsmen that there are three trade union centres currently operating in Czechoslovakia which associate 34 of the 60 existing trade unions. Besides them there exist the Confederation of Art and Culture and the Independent Slovak Trade Unions.

Answering the CTK question concerning the confederation's potential membership in the World Federation of Trade Unions, representatives of the confederation said they cannot speak on behalf of all its members as this question has not been discussed yet, but as regards the unions they represent, none of them wants to be member of the World Federation.

Pleskot Elected President

LD0403171590 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 4 (CTK)—Igor Pleskot was elected president of the newly-established Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions at a session of its general council here last night.

Slovak Government Approves Draft Bills

LD0103203690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Today the Slovak Government approved the draft bill on setting up a Slovak commission for the environment. The government agreed with a draft bill that amends and supplements the economic code, above all concerning legal regulations on private business by individual persons. It further agreed with the draft bill that amends and supplements the bill on social security and health insurance, which solves questions concerning the newly proposed amendment on private business. It also agreed with the draft bill on judicial rehabilitation and recommended that the name of our republic should be changed to Federation Czecho-Slovakia.

The Slovak Government abolished secretariats for church affairs at various levels and evaluated the actions of Czechoslovak Television in Slovakia in securing the principles of reducing the number of employees. In this regard it instructed the minister of culture and director of Slovak Television to put forward concrete proposals for solving the situation.

Slovak National Council Holds Bratislava Meeting

LD0203140590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The deputies of the Slovak National Council met today in Bratislava at its 22d meeting. Here is a brief roundup of the proceedings, which we relayed live, by editors Alica Bielikova, ab, and Viliam Racek, vr:

[Biekujiva] The proceedings of the 22d meeting of the Slovak National Council began today in a very untraditional way, with a demonstration organized by the Stur Society, the Slovak National Revival Association, and the Slovak National Party. In front of the building and in the courtyard, they shouted slogans for national sovereignty and equal rights for Slovaks as expressed in the new state emblems, and in support of Slovak National Council Chairman Rudolf Schuster.

The first item on the agenda of the meeting, which was attended by Premier Milan Cic, was the election of new deputies Jan Budaj, Frantisek Miklosko, and Boris Zala, who were constitutionally sworn in by the chairman of the Slovak National Council

[Racek] A number of deputies made interpellations, calling on government members to reply to topical problems on behalf of their constituencies and parties.

Then the stormiest part of the program got under way. After the recess and consultations in the political parties and movements, Jozef Dubnicek addressed the deputies, moving that Rudolf Schuster be released from the post of chairman of the Slovak National Council, and that Jan Budaj be elected to that post.

Rudolf Schuster stated in his speech that he agreed with a change in the leadership of the Slovak National Council in view of the political situation, but he asked that his departure be resolved by a vote of recall. A similar standpoint on recall from her post was also adopted by Janka Blazejova, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council.

This proposal to resolve the recall question was approved by the deputies and then, after a long drawn out procedure of balloting and counting the ballot papers, Jan Majer, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, in the chair, announced that only 53 of the 143 deputies had voted for Rudolf Schuster's recall.

[Begin Majer recording] I hereby declare that the chairman, Mr. Schuster, remains chairman of the Slovak National Council. [applause] [end recording]

[Bielikova] Rudolf Schuster therefore remains in the post, and Jan Budaj was then elected deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council in a secret ballot, and chairman of the Slovak National Council's environmental commission. Mr. Jan Budaj accepted the post. Janka Blazejova also retained her post as deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council. It remains to be noted that among the demonstrators there were also voices raised against Jan Budaj because of his approach to resolving issues of the Hungarian minority on our territory. Mr. Jan Budaj is of Slovak nationality and in his speech he reiterated his view on national unity, on the need for civilized behavior as the elections approach, and the need to unite forces instead of fragmenting them.

[Racek] Then the debate followed on issues which are highly topical, namely the constitutional bill sponsored by the president of the republic on changing the name of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Czech Socialist Republic, and the Slovak Socialist Republic as well as the government-sponsored constitutional bill of the Slovak National Council on the name, state emblem, state flag, state seal, and national anthem of the Slovak Republic.

The debate was not very long, because the deputies had already discussed these issues in detail in the Slovak National Council's commissions. Thus the name of our republic is the Slovak Republic, the proposed new name of Czechoslovakia is the Federation of Czecho-Slovakia [Federacia Cesko-Slovensko] with a hyphen between Czecho and Slovakia. The deputies then approved the proposed designs of the Slovak flag—the well-known white, blue and red tricolor—and the state emblem for the Slovak Republic which looks like this: a double silver cross erected above the central, highest crest of a range of three peaks in blue, on a red early-Gothic shield. The Slovak National Council recommends that the state emblem of the federation should be a vertically-halved shield with, in the left field when viewed face-up, the state emblem of the Czech Republic, and in the right field th state emblem of the Slovak Republic. The Moravian emblem can be incorporated as part of the emblem of the Czech Socialist Republic.

[Bielikova] The Slovak National Council deputies also approved the text of the national anthem of the Slovak Republic consisting of two stanzas, and they gave a rendition of it at the end of the session. The second stanza sounds like this. [passage indistinct in which deputies sing the second stanza] At the end of the 22d meeting, the Presidium of the Slovak National Council met to promulgate the laws which were passed.

Council Personnel Changes

AU0503130290

[Editiorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 2 March, on pages 1 and 2, carries a 900-word correspondents' report on the 1 March Bratislava session of the Slovak National Council (SNR).

Referring to the three newly elected deputies to the Slovak National Council, the Bratislava PRAVDA report specifies that Jan Budaj and Frantisek Miklosko represent the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement while Boris Zala represents the Social Democratic Party.

The report also mentions that Petr Brnak (Democratic Party) was replaced by Jan Bakica (VPN) as chairman of the SNR Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee and Dalibor Madar (Trend of the Third Millennium Party) by Jan Budaj (VPN) as chairman of the SNR Committee for the Environment. Furthermore, Boris Zala was elected member of the SNR Presidium.

Slovak Premier Denounces 'Ethnic Intolerance'

LD0503230790 Prague CTK in English 2030 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Bratislava march 5 (CTK)—A working session of the Slovak Government, attended by Slovak National Council Chairman Rudolf Schuster and other council's officials, representatives of the Public Against Violence, the Independent Hungarian Initiative and other ethnic groups in Czechoslovakia, was held in Komarno, West Slovakia, today.

In his opening speech, Slovak Premier Milan Cic called on all Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Ukrainians and on representatives of all ethnic groups living in the Slovak Republic to resolutely condemn any nationalist acts and to dissociate themselves from any forms of provocation and demagogy. He said that mutual respect and understanding is the main task as well as support for the social and economic development of our common homeland built on freedom and democracy.

He went on to say that Czechoslovakia wants to be incorporated into Europe which is not divided by borders, and therefore it must destroy its internal barriers at first, those created by ethnic intolerance. He pointed out that Czechoslovakia wants to coordinate its return to Europe with everybody and with its neighbours in particular. "We want to enter the European home as consolidated masters with our own doorstep clean," the Slovak premier concluded.

Government Statement on 1948 Events Anniversary

AU0103173190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Feb 90 p 2

["Statement on the 42d Anniversary of the February 1948 Events," issued by the CSSR Government on 26 February]

[Text] At the end of World War II, Czechs and Slovaks decided to set out on new paths. They demanded a more popular and just state which would guarantee the equality of peoples and nationalities, a state which would embody the humane ideals of T. G. Masaryk, the first president of the republic, as well as those of the participants in the resistance both at home and abroad.

We had then the prerequisites to establish a tolerant cooperation among various political movements and to form a democratic society. We overcame the postwar difficulties and were preparing the conditions for an economic and social ascent of our homeland.

During the government crisis in February 1948, communists also made use of anticonstitutional means. With armed pressure they pushed through their own solution. They also opened wide the gate to Stalinist totalitarian force, of which they became the exponents. Using a foreign example, they undertook further nationalization, they bureaucratized the economy, and forcibly collectivized agriculture. They staged trials against their former associates and finally also against their own leaders. Police power became an all-governing despotism. Even our foreign policies were unilaterally distorted.

The ideals and justified longings of a segment of our people were misused. People were cheated and disappointed in the name of these ideals and longings.

Foreign intervention and its collaborators employed force to bring everything back to the old tracks—even in 1968 when the hope of liberation from servitude to totalitarianism was born.

The totalitarian regime erased not only names from our history but also entire historical periods and deprived citizens of their individuality and life prospects. Many were even deprived of their freedom and work, the regime destroyed their families, rode roughshod over their dignity, and threw them in prison. These were deeds in direct contradiction with the principles of a democratically organized society. We therefore consider it vital to work out a draft law, on the basis of which all cases of people unjustly convicted as a result of the infringement of laws will be urgently investigated, those harmed will be rehabilitated, and restitution will be made for all the damages thus incurred.

Nothing prevents us today from finding our history and our face again, and from settling the situation according to our traditions and needs. We have decided to follow the path of understanding which opens ahead of us after the years of bitter experiences. Democracy is a public and courageous striving for truth. And truth—as shown by the last four decades—will eventually be victorious. In the history of our peoples, numerous anniversaries exist to which we can return with pride. Time has exposed their true colors. In the same manner, time has mercilessly exposed the place in history of the events of February 1948. Therefore, no reason exists for 25 February to be designated as a special day, and the government will propose that it be removed from the relevant law.

Criminal Proceedings Against Bilak Begin

LD2802230490 Prague CTK in English 1456 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 28 (CTK)—Criminal proceedings on suspicion of the offence of abusing the power of a public official have been started against Vasil Bilak, the former Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, the offices of the Czechoslovak and Czech prosecutors' general said in a statement here today.

The Czechoslovak General Prosecutor's Office has been dealing with a legal judgement of the possible criminal responsibility of persons who asked representatives of five Warsaw Treaty states for a military intervention in 1968. The results of its inquiry will be published.

A complaint against Vasil Bilak for treason had been lodged by Charter 77 representatives Tomas Hradilek and Rudolf Bereza in May 1988, at a time when it was clear that the criminal act leading to the military occupation of Czechoslovakia did not yet fall under the statute of limitation. On December 14, 1989 a spokesman for the Club of Legal support lodged a complaint against the former prosecutor-general of Czechoslovakia for the offence of abusing powers of a public official, which he had committed by having failed to settle the complaint against Bilak.

Association To Administer Socialist Youth Assets

AU0503093590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Four Billion Worth of Assets Will Not Be Wasted"]

[Text] Prague— Deliberately spread misinformation involving the Socialist Youth Union accuses the leadership of the former union of trying to stash away its four billion [currency not specified] worth of assets. This gives rise to nervousness and to calls for the expropriation of these assets and their transfer into the hands of state bodies.

The Association of Children's and Youth Organizations [Sdruzeni organizaci deti a mladeze] (SODM) is taking shape at present. Representatives of 30 associations, unions, and federations take part in the work of the SODM Preparatory Committee. (The Union of the Young [the follow-up organization to the Socialist Youth Union] is one of these organizations, all of which have equal status.) In accordance with the conclusions of talks with the minister-chairwoman of the CSSR People's Control Committee and representatives of other state bodies, they have agreed to jointly use and administer all property of the former Socialist Youth Union at the federal level, following the ascertainment of assets and liabilities and an audit by state bodies. A similar course of action has been recommended for negotiations at lower levels.

Representatives of the Association ask national committees at all levels not to encroach upon the property of the former Socialist Youth Union and not to transfer the right to use this property (clubs, rooms, and other assets) to other, e.g. commercially oriented, organizations, since by doing so, they would actually deprive children and young people of the possibility to make use of this property.

The SODM Preparatory Committee's office is at No. 8 Gorkiy Square, 116 47 Prague-1, Tel. 22-32-36, 22-27-47.

Communist Reelected as Mayor in Brno

AU0203113690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Feb 90 p 2

["svo"-signed report: "Old-New Mayor"]

[Text] Brno (from our correspondent)—The main item on the agenda of the 27 February plenary session of the National Committee for the city of Brno was the election of new deputies and changes in the structure of bodies. Spokesmen of the main political powers based their contributions on the roundtable discussion which supported the candidacy of the present mayor, Josef Pernica, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, who has proved an able public servant during a year in this function. A secret ballot confirmed Josef Pernica as mayor.

Communist Party Foreign Aid Figures Released

LD2802123190 Prague CTK in English 1125 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 28 (CTK)—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia spent annually an average of 50 million crowns in aid to partner parties abroad and to national liberation movements, data of the communist party's press centre revealed.

The money had been used to finance air tickets for non-governmental parties for trips to Czechoslovakia, stays of delegations and material aid to communist parties during their congresses. The aid had been provided on request by the individual parties and approved by top communist party bodies.

SEMTEX Exports Officially Halted in 1989

AU2802183490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Feb 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Apropos the Abuse of Explosives"]

[Text] Prague—The public has found out about SEMTEX explosives in connection with reports of their abuse by terrorists in foreign countries. Engineer Jiri Novy, director of VCHZ [East Bohemia Chemical Works] Synthesia-Semtin, has handed CTK a statement in which it says that SEMTEX is used as an industrial explosive. "It is a fact that in the past certain quantities of this explosive were exported to various countries," it claims. "These exports were officially halted in 1989 by a decree of the Ministry for Foreign Trade prohibiting the export of some plastic explosives. Reports about the abuse of SEMTEX abroad deeply disturb us and we condemn these criminal acts as emphatically as possible. Experts from our enterprise have actively participated in the Czechoslovak-British initiative aimed at taking specific steps against the abuse of plastic explosives for terrorist purposes. Experts from our enterprise have provided all the necessary technical information to specialists in Great Britain and to participants in the international conference held in Mannheim in July 1989 on the detection of explosives. We are prepared to accede to the conditions of an international agreement in this sphere," says the statement.

Modrow Asks USSR To Begin '4-Plus-2' Talks

LD0503205990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2006 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—Prime Minister Hans Modrow asked the Soviet Union today to set the "four-plus-two" conference into motion "with great seriousness." At a meeting in the Supreme Soviet, he pleaded for level-headedness and reponsibility in the German-German unification process. Modrow, who arrived in Moscow today accompanied by 12 ministers for talks with the Soviet leadership, said that the international community should be aware that the 18 March elections could not deliver a decision on unification. A parliament is being elected on that day; it is not a referendum on unification. Helsinki II should be prepared immediately, as otherwise the "four-plus-two" conference would be without any cover.

Referring to the view of FRG Chancellor Kohl, who already viewed his 10-point-plan as outmoded, Modrow also said that the impression is being given that the whole affair is already settled. Elements of nationalism and revanchism are surfacing, which are being viewed very critically by the neighbors, Poland in particular.

Germany expert Valentin Falin said that the solution of the German problem now offers the "unique possibility of becoming a model case for the creation of a European security system."

Minister Rainer Eppelmann pointed to the differing political development of the members of the GDR delegation. One of the common factors is, however, that they wish to preserve friendly relations with the Soviet Union, and that they take very seriously the security needs of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

USSR Supreme Soviet Group Arrives for Visit

LD0503110390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1011 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet arrived in the GDR on 5 March. At the start of their three-day stay, the deputies were received by People's Chamber President Dr. Guenther Maleuda for a talk. [passage omitted]

Maleuda Discusses Unification

LD0503181790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1313 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—German-German unification must take place gradually and with due regard for European interests, including the Soviet Union's security needs. This was stated by People's Chamber President Dr. Guenther Maleuda in Berlin today during a talk with USSR Supreme Soviet deputies who are in the GDR for a three-day visit. Referring to the process of democratization in the country, he assessed the appearance of FRG politicians in election rallies as interference in the GDR's internal affairs. He strongly opposed views that NATO interests should be extended in a future unified Germany. Maleuda shared the fears of neighboring states, which result from statements by FRG politicians on the Polish Western border.

Delegation leader Ivan Dyakov expressed the Soviet citizens' lively interest in the situation, and in the development of democracy in the GDR. This is partly because the events of World War II are still alive in the Soviet Union. He stressed that a future Germany must not be a danger to peace and stability. The most important task is not to permit revanchism.

The guests were particularly interested in the range of political parties, economic development, including property rights, and questions concerning youth work, education, and the ecology. [passage omitted]

Unification Experts Meeting Due on 9 Mar

LD0603101790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0815 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The first meeting of experts between the GDR and the FRG on the external aspects of German unification is expected to take place in Berlin in 9 March. This report emerged this morning from the GDR Foreign Ministry. Due to be discussed are preparations for the "two-plus-four" talks, agreed on in Ottawa on 13 February between the foreign ministers of the two German states and the four victorious powers. It is also reported that a date when officials from the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, and France are to be included has not yet been fixed.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze proposed on 5 March that 12 and 13 March be considered for a meeting of experts from all six states. Geneva, Berlin, or the capitals of the states participating in the talks, taken in order, were named as possible venues by the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Kohl's Position on Polish Border Criticized

AU0603083390 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Mar 90 p 2

[Monika Graessler commentary: "Kohl's Speeches and Excuses"]

[Text] Has the chancellor from the Rhine, who is always merrily chatting, ever been left speechless? Probably not. On the other hand, the critically thinking consumer also does not expect that Kohl always has something to say when he opens his mouth.

Precisely in the past few weeks the chancellor has been talking a lot, preferably about the GDR and before thousands of that country's citizens, who mostly cheered him all too rashly. Kohl also talked to influential politicians in East and West. His favorite topic: German unity, which he probably believes he is entitled to forge and administer. His thoughts are frequently dangerously ahead of reality or ignore it completely.

A farsighted chancellor? No, rather one with intellectual-political limits. One of them seems to be for him the Oder-Neisse line, against which he bumps himself again and again and gets bruises whenever he talks about it, but he is not prepared to say the decisive thing. Is he not able or not willing to understand why a clear, unequivocal, and unambiguous word would be important precisely now? Of course, Kohl has talked about this question only recently with his friend Bush, but again he did not say anything.

The FRG chancellor likes to use the excuse that everything has already been said and points out treaties that lay down the general inviolability of the European postwar borders. But this is not enough for the Poles. They want the guarantee that a united Germany will end at the Oder-Neisse line and that there must not be any additional territorial claims. History decided on the former German territories east of the two border rivers long ago: They have been Polish territory for decades. Of course, some Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union voters, whose votes Kohl does not want to forego in the elections, have had a completely different opinion on this until today.

Kohl is equally shrewd and easy to see through when he comments on Poland's western border like this: The future sovereign authority in a united Germany should make a statement on this. It is to be hoped that he can also be trusted when he says that he advocates parliamentary statements by the Bundestag and the People's Chamber on this issue. Or is this less the result of his own judiciousness than of the increasing pressure from concerned Polish neighbors, impatient liberal coalition partners, and all those who permit realism?

The eloquent chancellor should have understood long ago: A clear word on the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border without any ifs and buts is of more use to German unity than any further excuse or speech by Kohl.

'Alliance for Berlin' Unification Program

AU0503131990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Mar 90 p 8

[Fritz Schroeder report: "Program of the 'Alliance'"]

[Excerpts] "The Program for the Future of an Undivided Berlin" was presented in the House of Democracy on 1 March. The authors are the Berlin Land Associations of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] (West), Democratic Awakening, the German Social Union (DSU), and the CDU (East), which call themselves the "Alliance for Berlin." They expressed ideas about urban planning and shaping, living in Berlin, environmental protection, landscape, and recreation. The problems of social and economic development, which are particularly urgent for many Berliners, were left out. However, the authors promised to work out corresponding positions and to present them at a later date. [passage omitted]

In the program, the Alliance advocates the establishiment of a center for politics and economy that forms a link between Alexanderplatz and Kurfuerstendamm. [passage omitted]

Transition Period Needed for Monetary Union

AU0503144990 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 1 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Warning Against Introduction of Monetary Union Without Transition Period"]

[Text] East Berlin—A treaty on a German-German monetary union should offer the possibility of a transition period during which both sides should take the required steps to ensure an orderly unification process.

This was stressed by Minister Walter Romberg, head of the GDR delegation of the joint expert committee that prepares the monetary and economic union, in an interview with the government's press office.

In his view, it would be ideal if the committee submitted alternative proposals before the elections to the People's Chamber that could be adopted by the new government, "and that would make it possible for the government to enter into specific negotiations with the FRG Government without delay."

According to Minister Romberg, it is essential for an orderly unification process and "that the system of social security that people have achieved in this country is transferred in a suitable and acceptable form to the new structures." When establishing a new social network for GDR citizens, it will also be examined to what extent models from other countries, besides the FRG, can be used at least during a transition period.

The GDR politician stressed that both sides are serious about quickly continuing talks on a monetary union that were opened in Berlin on 20 February. However, there are some fundamental problems. Thus, both sides find it difficult to understand the specific economic and financial structure of the other side. "On our part, the willingness to understand the other side is currently greater than the ability to understand the other side. I have the impression that the FRG is largely taking it for granted that the FRG's system is the basis of a future monetary union. Thus, I see less inclination on the FRG side to try to understand our system."

Officials Praise Vienna Disarmament Talks

AU0203142390 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 28 Feb 90 p 2

[Wolfram Neidhard report: "Results in Vienna Negotiations Imminent"]

[Text] Berlin—The Vienna negotiations on conventional disarmament and security and confidence-building measures in Europe were in the focus of a press talk in the GDR Foreign Ministry on 27 February.

Ambassador Guenter Buehring described the three-week seminar on military doctrines that ended recently as very constructive. He said that this is the first time since World War II that matter-of-fact discussions have been held on these issues, discussion in which neutral states also took part. In this connection, he paid tribute to the proposal submitted by Austria, Sweden, the GDR, Hungary, and France on the last day of the meeting, with regard to installing hotlines between the 35 CSCE states.

Ambassador Klaus-Dieter Ernst, GDR ambassador to the Vienna negotiations of 23 countries on force reductions in Europe, said that it would be possible before the end of 1990 to sign a disarmament agreement on conventional force reductions. He said that the draft agreements of NATO and the Warsaw Pact offer a good basis in this respect. He paid tribute to the Ottawa "Open Skies" conference where the USSR and the United States reached agreement on an upper ceiling of 190,000 troops each in Central Europe. The GDR insists that the joint agreement of the two superpowers can only be the beginning of additional conventional disarmament steps. It is a policy goal to lay down fixed upper ceilings for the troops of all countries in Central Europe. Ernst paid tribute to the constructive proposals submitted by NATO, especially in the last round of the negotiations.

Talks on GATT Observer Status Open

AU0203150290 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 27 Feb 90 p 1

[NZ/ADN report: "GDR Will Soon Be GATT Observer"]

[Text] East Berlin (NZ/ADN)—The GDR is currently striving to be granted observer status within the GATT bodies. Successful consultations with the GATT member states have started. This was announced by GDR Deputy Foreign Economy Minister Christian Meyer, who recently met with GATT Secretary General Arthur Dunkel in Geneva, in an interview for ADN.

The possibilities of cooperation with the international forum for shaping world trade are to be discussed with leading GATT representatives at a seminar in the GDR at the beginning of June. At the same time, the meeting will allow a comprehensive exchange of views on the reform processes in the GDR. In the view of Minister Meyer, participation in the work of GATT presupposes "that the GDR shapes its economy in conformity with GATT." This requires a price level that is based exclusively on real costs.

OECD Ready for Close Contacts With Institutes

AU0503152290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN report: "Close Contacts Between OECD and GDR"]

[Text] Paris (ADN)—The OECD is ready for close contacts with GDR institutes. This was stated by Guenther Kuehnel, director general in the GDR Foreign Economy Ministry, in a talk with ADN at the conclusion of the three-day talks at the OECD headquarters in Paris. Areas of support for the reform processes in the GDR on the path toward a market economy have been outlined.

Turkey Issues Entry Visas at Border

AU0503145390 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 1 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Conditions for Turkish Visas"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in the GDR announces that as of 1 March, GDR citizens who want to visit Turkey as tourists also may obtain their entry visas directly at all Turkish border checkpoints. These visas are issued for $10 and are valid for one month. Other currencies are not accepted at the border checkpoints.

As ADN learned from the press office of the Foreign Ministry, the Turkish Embassy in Berlin continues to issue visas for tourist trips, which may be paid in GDR marks. It is to be taken into account that people holding diplomatic or official passports must apply for their entry visas exclusively at the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey.

More Members Elected to Electoral Commission

AU0503133290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Mar 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Further Members Elected"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—On 28 February, two KPD [Communist Party of Germany] members were elected to the GDR Electoral Commission. This party has now also applied for participation in the People's Chamber elections. Thus, the nationwide body now comprises 32 members from 17 parties and political associations. [passage omitted]

PDS Election Position on Education Policy

AU0503152490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Mar 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Election Position of the Party of Democratic Socialism; On 18 March You, Too, Will Decide on the Equal Right of All to Education"]

[Text] Our country must be and remain a country that is suitable for children. With these words the election positions of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] on education issues are introduced. The PDS is for a new education law that includes basic reforms from the kindergartens to the universities.

1. The PDS is for an education concept that is aimed at developing the individuality and creativity of the individual. It will be marked by humanistic, democratic,

antifascist, and anti-Stalinist basic values. We consider education for peace, friendship among peoples, freedom, human dignity, solidarity, and tolerance indispensable. There must not be any room for contempt of mankind and racism, for fascist, militaristic, and chauvinistic thoughts and actions.

Children and young people are to develop to become free and responsible citizens who think independently and act with responsibility. Children need affection, social security, and prospects in life that are worth striving for.

We are for ideological pluralism in education and training.

2. The PDS is for equal opportunities for all children, regardless of their ideology, sex, religion, nationality, and social origin. We are against a structured education sector. We are for a free 10-year regular state school and vocational training for all. We are for a comprehensive school that includes multifaceted humanistic education for all, as well as for the early promotion of skills and talents in special schools. We are for a four-year stage after the eighth grade leading to the graduation examination, for vocational training with a graduation examination, as well as for free technical school, college, and university training.

We are open for experimental schooling under public control, but against any social or ideological selection. We are for more intensive orientation toward instruction in the arts and music and esthetics, for ensuring a profound knowledge of one's mother tongue, and for the free choice of one European foreign language. We advocate the renewal of polytechnical education in order to link learning and work. For this purpose, the support of the enterprises, cooperatives, and communities is essential.

We are in favor of pupils, apprentices, and students contributing their ideas to the shaping of education. We support the democratic election of pupils' and students' representations. We are for the political organization of young people and for a unified children's movement, which is supported by the children themselves.

3. The PDS is for preserving social achievements, for not taking away anything that children need. We are for free care for children in nurseries, kindergartens, and day-care centers in reasonably small groups. They are to be places where children enjoy a happy life and are to provide space for games, fun, sports, and artistic and musical activities. We are for regular free medial examinations and care for children and better conditions of school hygiene. We are for hot lunches and milk for children at sensible prices.

We are for more and better playgrounds and sports fields. We are working for possibilities of interesting leisure time for the children. In the future, too, they should have children's houses and stations for young engineers, nature researchers, and vacationers. In the future, too, children and young people are to have the opportunity of spending their vacations in camps, on trips, and hiking trips without being an excessive financial burden to their parents.

4. The PDS is for the family's primary role in education. Everything for the welfare of the children. Parents bear the main responsibility for the education of their children. We are for the parents' right to decide, in the interest of the children, on the location and duration of their attendance at a kindergarten or a school. Parents must be permitted to decide, together with the school, whether or not it would be useful for their child to leave school after the eighth grade.

Families with many children or single mothers or fathers need material, pedagogical, and social support. Families with handicapped children need more attention and comprehensive care. We must not permit any social cuts! We are for early integration of these children into society and, at the same time, for the more meaningful use of existing special institutions.

We are for greater participation in decision-making by the parents and their elected representatives.

5. The PDS is for more competence by the teachers, teacher trainers, educators, and kindergarten teachers. Democratization of the education sector rules out any patronization or defamataion of the teachers—by whomever—or restriction of their authority to make decisions in teaching work. It is necessary to reassess the social role of the teachers and to set down their rights and duties and the rights and duties of democratically elected bodies representing the interests of teachers and of the trade union.

We are for a new salary system for teachers that corresponds to their social responsibility and for the right to advanced pedagogical training on the basis of a broad range of choice. We are for a renewal of the teachers' training.

Gysi Discusses Compulsory Military Service

AU0503155790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Mar 90 p 1

[ND-Staude/Sommer report: "Gregor Gysi: Two Reasons To Abolish Compulsory Military Serve"]

[Excerpt] Eggesin—The first trip of Chairman Gregor Gysi to the provinces after the congress of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] brought him to the north of the republic. In Eggesin he discussed the security policy concept of the PDS with professional soldiers and officers of the 9th Tank Division.

If in the future there is a united German state, Gysi said, then this state will be largely without a military. The necessary security guarantees for this country could be taken over by the CSCE states and the four victorious powers. Therefore, a joint federal army is not necessary. In this connection, Gregor Gysi said that it is an illusion to intend to include a united Germany in NATO. Concerning this question, the FRG Government underestimates the Allies, including the Soviet Union.

Asked about the PDS proposal to abolish compulsory military service, Gysi said that the party is pursuing two goals: to form a professional army with a civil service status for its members within a certain period and, at the same time, to take steps toward achieving the demilitarization of Germany. In any case, the interests of the soldiers and officers must be taken into account and retraining and social programs have to be developed. [passage omitted]

PDS Calls for Contribution of Ideas

AU0503161190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Mar 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Courage To Dream—Ideas for Our Country"]

[Text] We all know the serious problems of our country. "No experiments," conservative parties demand and, at the same time, come out in favor of the GDR's throwing itself into the unprecedented experiment of an unprepared and unconditional anschluss with the FRG and its completely different economic, social, and legal system.

We think: Life always is an experiment—for the individual and for all of society. In the past, our country was far too unlively because we did not dare to make enough big and small experiments, to engage in dreams and fantasies.

We, the Party of Democratic Socialism, do not want to repeat the mistakes of the past. We want everyone to join in working to change and newly shape our country with realism and imagination.

We need your ideas.

Ideas on how we want to live with each other and with nature.

What should your apartment, your workplace, your school look like?

What should the cities look like in which you want to live?

Which transportation systems do you want for the future?

How is the unification of the two German states to take place and which goal should it have?

Which place do we want to assume in the "common European home"?

There are so many questions and many others more, for which it is difficult to find answers, even though we are currently offered cheap patent medicines from Western kitchens. Let us look for ideas together and give our answers.

Write to us, send us your ideas, no matter in which form; send us projects, drawings, pictures, tapes, or simply a few sentences on your proposals and dreams.

Mankind is on the threshold of the third millennium. It is a time of unexpected opportunities and incalculable risks; a time of upheaval, of newly determining values and paths. Our world needs a new kind of progress to overcome global problems, which always are our own problems. Our world needs the realism of the dreams and utopias as well as businesslike analysis.

Address: Executive Committee of the Party of Democratic Socialism; Marx-Engels Platz; Berlin, 1020.

Gysi Addresses Election Rally in Cottbus

LD0503205290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1955 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Cottbus (ADN)—At a Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] election rally this evening in Cottbus, the home of many of the country's miners and energy workers, PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi spoke in favor of a European energy conference and a European energy association. The GDR's population must learn to save energy, he said. He reinforced the idea that German and European unity should come about at the same time, as far as possible. The whole thing must have a beneficial effect on Europe.

Annexation to the FRG also means that the GDR would become an exploiter of the Third World. However, the PDS is in favor of a just world economic order. In the characterization of a future Germany, adjectives such as neutral and demilitarized are often forgotten. The FRG, too, must change and reform, for it has no knowledge of citizens committees and roundtables. Not only in the GDR, also in a united Germany and in Europe, there is need of a strong left. It is not a new historical development: Whenever the right comes together, the left splinters.

Gysi's comment that Christians have their place in the PDS met with much support. "Whether atheist or nonatheist, this is no longer an issue for the PDS." He emphasized that in this phase of social upheaval in the country most representatives of the churches are behaving in a level-headed manner. [passage omitted]

Brandt Addresses Dresden Election Rally

LD0503203690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1931 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Dresden (ADN)—At an election rally in Dresden this evening, Willy Brandt, honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party [SPD], spoke in favor of aid for the GDR as quickly as possible following the elections on 18 March. In front of the Kreuzkirche, he demanded a joint economic and monetary order, not sometime in the future but in 1990. It is also a matter of things that affect the people directly, including transportation systems, infrastructures, and environmental protection.

The esteemed Social Democrat, who is at present conducting the election campaign in Thuringia and Saxony, was critical of the Federal Government's delaying policy. He called on the citizens: "Have faith in your own strength. It is worth staying here and being active in the new beginning!" Of all the Eastern European countries, the GDR will be the first to get on its feet again. [passage omitted on Brandt reminiscing about his youth]

The Nobel Peace Prize holder argued that in the matter of the unity of Germany it is not a case of the annexation of a small part but of a merger in which the GDR citizens must incorporate their experiences, interests, and views of the future. Brandt, who greeted the rally participants with "Dear compatriots," proposed that both parts of the people should vote on a joint constitution. A state governed by the rule of law is the prime concern, but law does not mean revenge.

It is a matter of negotiating the position of a united Germany in Europe, both with the Four Powers and with all European states and the direct neighbors. The senseless discussion about the eastern border distressed him; it is, after all, not a case of a reunification into one reich but of a new unification. With reference to the European house, he spoke of initially porous and finally superfluous borders. The national question should be treated as something more than electoral policy.

SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme stated in Dresden, which was an electoral stronghold of his party uuntil 1933, that he is not concerned with a social-democratic country, but with a country that is democratic and social. His party is now 149 days old, following the new founding, and has the will to treat the path of German unity with all democratic forces, along which the interests of the people would not be damaged.

According to the organizers, about 45,000 people turned up for the rally on the Dresden Altmarkt. Several parties, including the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party, and Alliance 90, put forward their programs on the sidelines of the assembly.

FRG CDU's Geissler Addresses Rally

LD0503220690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2111 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Schwerin (ADN)—At an election rally of the Alliance for Germany in Schwerin this evening, Dr. Heiner Geissler, deputy chairman of the FRG Christian Democratic Union [CDU] spoke in support of the social system of the FRG, proven and internationally recognized over four decades. To applause from some 1,000 participants at the traditional rallying point "Alter Garten—For Good Hope," the visitor enumerated the advantages of the FRG social system. He placed the FRG within the European Community as the "country with the highest salaries, the shortest working hours, the longest holidays, a cast-iron currency, stable prices and a highly developed pension scheme." He also referred to the introduction of worker participation to freely elected enterprise councils, family and child benefits, and the dynamic pension increases.

"Over the past 40 years, the Christian Democrats have built up an economic and social order for our workers that the communists and socialists throughout the world would do well to emulate," the speaker emphasized, to applause from those present.

He directed sharp attacks against the "state planning and the mismanagement in the GDR." The people in the GDR had for 40 years been blackmailed and humiliated by the communists. [passage omitted]

CDU Election Ad Addresses Peasants

AU0603084290 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 3 Mar 90 p 3

[Christian Democratic Union election advertisement]

[Text]

CDU [Christian Democratic Union]—Turning Around To the Future

Dear peasants, dear citizens in the countryside:

Administration; gigantism; excessive use of chemicals; worn-down technical equipment; insufficient processing facilities:

This is the heritage of 40 years of agricultural policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany!

The CDU wants the peasant to become a peasant again!

...Because if the peasant did not exist, we would not have any bread.

Therefore, struggle with us for

—the renewal of agriculture on the basis of tested traditions, including the cooperative system;
—economic and ecological restructuring of agriculture;
—competitiveness in Europe's market economy;
—a new land law, which protects property;
—a variety of forms of ownership and enterprises, which all have equal rights;
—voluntarism and self-determination in agricultural producer cooperatives;
—overcoming the alienation from property through relations based on property rights between the members and the agricultural producer cooperatives;
—preservation of peasant culture and tradition—the church must be left in the village.

Stop the further decay of the villages!

For a more attractive homeland!

Support the turning around to a future with a peasantry that produces foods for healthy nuturition in a healthy natural environment!

The smart peasant votes for the CDU!

Office of the CDU Executive Committee,

Otto-Nuschke-Strasse 59/60, Berlin, 1086.

NDPD Election Program for Youth Policy

AU0603085890 East Berlin
BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Mar 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "From the Election Program of the National Democratic Party of Germany"]

[Text] National Democratic Party of Germany: Youth without borders—born to be alive [phrase after dashes in English]

Therefore:

—Gaining a view of the world by looking at the world;
—Unrestricted professional, intellectual, cultural, and physical development;
—No ideological and denominational marginalization;
—Sports for everyone everywhere;
—An optimum of competitive sports—a maximum of leisure and mass sports;
—Prospects for everyone's future: Individual basic and advanced training in line with inclination and talent.

Election Programs of IWU, Green Party

LD0503221190

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1850 GMT on 5 February transmits an election broadcast on behalf of the Independent Women's Union [IWU] and the Green Party. The program begins with the unidentified presenter introducing Helga (Hehl) and Petra Streit from the IWU and Ernst Doerfner and Freidrich (Heilmann) of the Green Party. The speakers are not otherwise individually identified.

The presenter asks why the IWU representatives have invited the Green Party along to the broadcast. One of the IWU representatives says it is because the two parties have a joint election alliance. A Green Party representative says things are happening too quickly in the country in the rush toward unification. He thinks that certain preconditions must be created first, NATO should be abolished, and the Warsaw Pact as well so that East and West are demilitarized.

The presenter then asks them about national unity. One IWU representative says that the sovereignty of both German states must be respected in this question. We have a lot to lose in the GDR, she says, the right to work, the right to occupational training, the right to abortion, the right to free contraception, child care, rent protection, and so on.

A Green Party representative says he also sees that there is something to lose if unification comes about. His party wants to preserve the ecological speed limit and the lack of wasteful packaging of consumer goods. The GDR has more undeveloped countryside than the FRG, he says, and this should not be destroyed.

The announcer then asks about the Social Charter and the roundtable. One of the women says many women are afraid of what will happen to the children and their care, the creches, the kindergartens, etc., following unification. Disabled people and pensioners need social security as well, she says. Pensions should enable people to have a good quality of life. The two women greet the decision today at the roundtable to set up a ministry for equality issues. Men should be integrated as well into bringing up children and into certain professions. A Green Party representative recounts his personal experiences of being a father who stayed at home.

The presenter asks what can be done for single mothers and their right to employment. The guests speak of the need for job creation programs and retraining.

The announcer then turns to the ecological crisis. A Green Party representative puts forward solutions for pollution. It is not only a question of repairing the damage already done, he says, but of promoting environmentally friendly production and behavior. The use of raw materials should be made more expensive, he continues, so that stocks remain for future generations. The GDR still has quite a lot of countryside that has not been developed and these areas should be declared national parks. They must be protected from the increase in tourism that will come. The party's symbol, he says, is a bird, the crane, which is a symbol of peace and life. The representives then list various events that will take place before the election.

The announcer concludes the program by announcing that the next program will be devoted to the United Left Initiative.

'Only a Few Thousand' Demonstrate in Leipzig

LD0503201690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1844 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig/Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—The penultimate Monday demonstration in Leipzig was again held in the shadow of the elections. Only a few thousand people came to hear the positions of parties and organizations in the square outside the Opera House.

Black-red-and-gold flags and calls for swift unification of the two German republics again formed the backdrop. The rally, which was followed by the traditional march around the Beltway, was characterized by intolerance toward the opinions of almost all speakers. Even a representative of New Forum, which was one of the coinitiators of the peaceful revolution last fall was interrupted by heckling, by shouts of "stop" or "Reds out," and by whistles.

The steps outside the Opera House were occupied by supporters of the "Young Nationals" a youth organization of the "Central German National Democrats," which sees itself as a sister organization of the Federal German NPD [National Democratic Party]. The young people tried to disrupt the event with megaphones and whistling. On the sidelines of the rally, various parties, including supporters of the "Republikaner," distributed propaganda material.

There was an incident on the margin of the rally when right-wing radicals, most of them young, started hounding participants of an opposition demonstration advocating GDR autonomy outside the theater.

In Karl-Marx-Stadt, several hundred people gathered at the usual time—1800—in the city center for the Monday demonstration. Flags of the FRG and of Saxony blew in the wind. When after half an hour, no speaker had approached the microphone, placed in front of the Karl Marx monument, the demonstration broke up.

New Forum Organizes Roadblocks in Zeulenroda

LD0503195490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1742 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Zeulenroda (ADN)—About 200 citizens of Zeulenroda this afternoon blocked five access roads of the district town in Gera Area for half an hour. At the initiative of the council of spokespersons of the town's New Forum, they hoped by this action to force the publication of the names of unofficial employees of the Ministry of State Security.

The head of the People's Police District Office, People's Police Major Manfred Forestel, described the action to ADN as an illlegal act that was inappropriate to achieving political objectives. He had also put forward this viewpoint at the roundtable talks on 26 February. He was supported there by the majority of the participants. The blockade disrupted traffic.

Views on Violence at Karl-Marx-Stadt Rally

AU0503144390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Mar 90 p 2

[ND/ADN report: "After Karl-Marx-Stadt: Are Things To Become More Violent?"]

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ND/ADN)—On the fringe of the election rally that the Alliance for Germany staged for FRG Chancellor Kohl in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 1 March, there were unpleasant violent actions. The statements about the clashes are different. Who says what?

United Left: The statements by the United Left indicate that between 1,700 and 1,900 sympathizers of the Republicans turned up with neo-Nazi and racist slogans and fliers, and those that were hostile to foreigners turned up. They pushed demonstrators with GDR flags and banners to the sides and acted violently against them, being supported by watchmen of the German Social Union [DSU] armed with clubs. After the rally, citizens with GDR flags were pursued and attacked by these forces.

Social Democratic Party [SPD]: A report by the SPD press office in the Saxon capital confirms the actions of the radicals and the so-called watchmen against demonstrators with different opinions. It also confirms the use of clubs. According to eyewitness reports, an attempt was made to disperse demonstrators by using cars. For instance, a small bus was driven into the crowd to prevent the people from reaching the site of the rally. There were brawls in front of the parking lot at the Kongress Hotel.

Persons affected: Hendrik Bueckelmann, sympathizer of the United Left, stated: Participants in the rally acted with physical force against us; they included people with so-called bomber jackets who were carrying clubs. We gathered again and marched in a counterdemonstration around the site of the rally at some distance. We were steadily pursued by "watchmen" of the Alliance and people with black-red-and-gold flags. At the driveway of the hotel, someone threw cans containing latex at us from above.

Alliance: Reports saying that DSU watchmen dispersed the counterdemonstration of the United Left by using clubs are completely unfounded. This was said in a statement sent to ADN by Degner, Reichenbach, and Eschrisch, area chairmen of the DSU, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, and Democratic Awakening in Karl-Marx-Stadt.

And what about the People's Police?

Colonel Peter Schoenherr, chief of operations: "We saw brawls. We received information via radio of an escalation. We immediately used the reserve of the People's Police District Office. But at that time the participants in the rally started to go home in their cars. The People's Police had to struggle against this stream. According to the regulations governing rallies, the organizer is obliged to ensure peace and quiet. The organizers allegedly used 500 watchmen. The policemen did not carry any clubs. We are not going to the watchmen and checking whether they are carrying something."

Democracy Now Urges Police To Oppose Violence

LD0503164490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Democracy Now observes with concern an "increasing brutalization in political clashes in our country," according to a statement from the council of this citizens movement sent to ADN today. In various GDR cities, peaceful demonstrators had been subject to verbal and physical violence, while the People's Police deployment forces had not given up their passive observer status. "This police tolerance of criminal actions may be the result of uncertainty at present in the People's Police in this current situation of radical change," the statement says. The right and the duty of the police to protect peaceful demonstrators from violence, even when these represent minority opinions, is emphatically confirmed. Democracy does not find expression in the so-called free play of forces, whereby the law of the jungle reigns on the streets, but has clear rules of play. "These include the security duty of the People's Police for the protection of the people against violence," it notes further. Democracy Now calls upon the GDR interior minister and the prosecutor-general "immediately to take the measures necessary to ensure the protection by law of the citizens of the GDR against violence."

Parties Appeal to Citizens on Market Economy

LD0503155690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1159 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The parties united in the Alliance for Germany, the Democratic Awakening [DA], the German Social Union (DSU), and the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], have addressed an appeal to GDR citizens not to be scared off by slogans stating that the introducton of the social market economy was linked with great social dangers. It was dishonest to describe emerging difficulties as harbingers of the market economy; instead, they were the result of long-term mismanagement, said CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere today in Berlin at a news conference that was attended by DA Chairman Wolfgang Schnurand, DSU national Executive member Stefan Sabottka, and FRG Labor Minister Norbert Bluem (CDU).

Schnur said there would be unemployment insurance in the GDR that would meet the highest international standards. Of course, it is inevitable that during the restructuring process "some enterprises" have to close. On the other hand, a "veritable wave of new enterprises would be set up," which would create many new jobs.

De Maiziere underlined that economic reform and monetary and social union were a package and therefore indivisibly interwoven. The Alliance would take this into account and take on the concerns of the disadvantaged in society. He referred in this connection to the fact that 91 percent of women in the GDR were employed, a quarter of whom "were single mothers bringing up children." Nursery schools, kindergartens, day care, schools meals, benefits in case of childrens' illness, and other elements of the present education system in the GDR that were worth retaining would not be lost. Subsidies that have been scrapped—for example, those for basic foodstuffs and rents—would be countered with individually adjusted increases in wages and rent grants.

Bluem said German unity must also be social unity. They did not want a poor and a rich society in Germany. He praised the FRG as a social welfare state with a comprehensive social security network. Each year 700 billion deutsche marks [DM] were spent on social security in the FRG, amounting to DM 11,000 per capita of the population. Bluem urged that the GDR should have a decree on industrial law in which free trade unions and works councils should play a dominant role.

In the sphere of social insurance, he recommended separate insurance schemes imdependent of the state that would, for example, finance pensions and unemployment benefits. Since these insurance schemes are financed mainly through contributions, pensions would automatically grow in line with increasing wages, and pensioners would not be reduced to the role of supplicants to the state.

Bluem said he thought that the number of unemployed in the GDR would not be as high as some people were presently forecasting. A modern labor market policy that included measures for further education, retraining, and rehabilitation was needed. In any case, the opportunities for a "social state of Germany" were greater than the risks.

In its "election appeal and immediate program" announced on 1 March, the Alliance supported the "immediate introduction of the DM." There were evasive answers on what was meant by "immediate" and the nature of the concepts that the Bonn government apparently had up its sleeve for this. Much still had to be worked out, said de Maiziere. There would certainly be a graduated settlement; it was not yet clear how much money could be exchanged immediately and how much would be tied up. Bluem made it clear that concepts no doubt already existed. They did not, however, want to announce them in advance in order to deter speculators.

Roundtable Considers Social Charter

LD0503131990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0930 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Efforts to achieve the unity of the two German states and the economic and monetary union linked with this must involve a social union. This is one of the basic statements contained in the Social Charter, which has been prepared at the suggestion of the Independent Women's Federation together with the Ministry of Labor and Wages and other representatives of democratic organizations and experts, and which was submitted to the roundtable in Berlin today by Ministers Tatjana Boehm and Gerhard Poppe.

In its preamble, the document lays down, among other things, the security and further expansion of the social standard that has historically grown up, the equality of men and women, and the preservation of the social assets of the GDR citizens. The cornerstones include the right to work, the democratization and humanization of working life, education for all, the protection of health, care for the elderly, the integration of the handicapped, and the right to living space.

Minister Poppe stressed that the Social Charter, to be submitted to the People's Chamber after 18 March, aims to serve as a basis for negotiations in connection with the creation of an economic and monetary union. The demands contained in the paper would "go far beyond the FRG Basic Law."

Further Investigation of Oct Events

AU0503163890 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 1 Mar 90 p 16

[ADN report: "Further Investigations After the Elections"]

[Text] The Temporary Berlin Investigation Committee, which is examining the events that took place on 7 and 8 October 1989, wants to act as a monitoring organ of the public after the elections on 18 March as well. The body decided at its meeting in the Red Town Hall on 28 February to forward a letter to the People's Chamber and the government. The letter contains the proposal that the files of the Stasi state security service on the events of 7 and 8 October should be secured. The material might preliminarily be stored in a documentation center. There is also the possibility of handing it over to the church. An expert committee, to be set up by the GDR parliament, should decide on the use of the documents prior to the elections to the People's Chamber. A law on data protection is urgently needed, the letter stresses.

The letter also mentions the possibility of destroying the files. However, it should be taken into consideration that in such a case, the material would not be available for historical purposes in the future. The interests of the citizens who are mentioned in the interrogation protocols must also be taken into account.

The committee announced a meeting planned for 10 March. Citizens who are interested can obtain information on the committee's work as of 1600 in the great hall of the Red Town Hall.

The committee complained that the Berlin public prosecutor has so far been unwilling to adopt a fundamentally new approach to the complete uncovering of the injustice that has been committed. This was assessed as being an attempt to delay investigations. The fact that the investigating organs of the security police and the criminal police acted on an equal basis was assessed as being unacceptable. The links between former interrogators, the state security organs, and the Office of the General Prosecuting Attorney have not been clarified so far. The lawyers are also guilty in this connection.

New Berlin Mayor Christian Hartenhauer is no longer willing to participate in the Temporary Investigation Committee. Hartenhauer stated at the City Assembly on 23 February that he wants to prevent possible influence on his position as mayor of Berlin.

Paper Proposes 'Steps Toward a Peaceful Germany'

AU0503153490 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 1 Mar 90 p 1

[Hans-Juergen Nagel and Hans-Joerg Heims article: "DER MORGEN Puts Up for Discussion by Parties, Politicians, and Disarmament Experts: Possible Steps Toward a Peaceful Germany"]

[Text] In order to create a united, peaceful, and respected Germany in the community of all states and peoples under the common roof of a European home and to promote the international process of disarmament and detente, the parliaments and governments of the GDR and the FRG should agree the following by May 1990 at the latest:

1. The People's Chamber and the Bundestag, as the supreme constitutional organs, decide to renounce the use of military force against third states and against each other, as well as a statement that is binding under international law and that recognizes the existing border with Poland as final;

2. Independent of the current international negotiations, they introduce the following steps of disarmament policy:

—freezing the military alliance obligations of the National Peoples' Army in the Warsaw Pact and of the Bundeswehr in NATO, starting this year until mid-1991 at the latest;

—taking the military contingents of the National People's Army and the Bundeswehr out of the two alliances, starting with the ground forces in 1991, following with the air forces in 1992, and the naval forces in 1993; air defense, as an important part in the air surveillance system of the two alliances, is maintained in its current form for the time being;

—hand in hand with the troop reduction that is beginning and withdrawal of the armed forces of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, and France from the GDR and the FRG, the National People's Army and the Bundeswehr are reduced to a maximum total strength of 250,000 men; structure, armament, and equipment have to serve their defense assignment while, at the same time, general compulsory military service is abolished and a transition toward a national guard is made;

—as of 1995, the GDR and the FRG cancel all military obligations in the Warsaw Pact and in NATO, respectively, so that steps toward a further demilitarization can be taken;

—in preparation for the CSCE summit, which is planned for 1990, both German states announce their intention that Germany as a whole should become a neutral state or confederation by the year 2000 at the latest; furthermore, the governments of both German states—commissioned by the parliaments—introduce the necessary steps via diplomatic channels to achieve readiness among Germany's direct neighbors to verify and promote the process of disarmament, demilitarization, and transition toward neutrality by means of a CSCE force or in any other suitable way.

Association of Judges Forms

AU0503152590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Mar 90 p 3

[Karin Wenk report: "Law Not To Be Vehicle of Politics"]

[Excerpts] GDR judges want to contribute to the democratic reshaping of society with their professional knowledge and their social conscience—that is a premise for the founding of a Judges' Association at this time. Rule of law is the core of social renewal. The prime criterion for this consolidating rule of law is the preservation of the judges' independence and the unbiased administration of justice. The judges consider the law to be the measure of politics and not its instrument. It is necessary to expand the role of the judiciary to that of the third branch of the state in order to ensure the complete legal protection of the citizens. The judges want to contribute to this and to promote legislation and judiciature. They call for a comprehensive judicial reform, in particular for the separation of the administration of justice from the judicial administration.

The Judges' Association wants to prevent old mechanisms, which concerned the penal code for political offenses, from recurring or being restored under different political conditions. In this process, a constitutional court is indispensable.

With regard to the unification of the two German states, the association is in favor of the amendment of laws, and not simply the taking over of FRG laws. In the GDR, a new court structure should be established and a law relating to judges should be passed as quickly as possible. The independent professional association is working—according to its statute—for the economic and social concerns of the judges. [passage omitted]

Uwe Weitzberg, director of the Berlin-Mitte City District court, has been elected chairman of the Judges' Association.

New Weekly DIE MAERKISCHE Published

AU0603085590 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 2 Mar 90

[NZ report: "New Weekly on the Market"]

[Text] East Berln (NZ)—A new weekly—DIE MAERKISCHE—is available on the market as of today. It developed out of our sister newspaper MAERKISCHE UNION. DIE MAERKISCHE—printed by the Union printing company—addresses readers in both parts of Berlin and in Mark Brandenburg (the current areas of Potsdam, Frankfurt/Oder, and Cottbus). It reports on what is going on in the metropolis and in its surroundings in the spheres of politics, culture, and economy. Historical contributions are part of the articles, as well as jokes, puzzles, and the television program. For the economy, in particular for medium-sized enterprises, as well as for every inhabitant of Berlin and of Mark Brandenburg, DIE MAERKISCHE offers good opportunities to address customers, clients, and other interested people in town and countryside through advertisements. One copy costs one GDR mark (subscription: 4.50 GDR marks).

Nemeth Addresses 'National Summit'

LD0503185290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1353 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth at the 12-party national summit in Budapest—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, first of all I would like to say that I will try to make my contribution as short as possible, but the government and I personally received appeals on three questions of such importance that I would ask your agreement for me to exceed the three minutes. I would not like to shorten the time for your negotiations, but otherwise I will be unable to reply on merit. Thank you very much.

Then first of all, let me start with the most simple matter concerning the government's approach to parliament's future work. The 14 March session is considered a festive session; we have initiated this with the National Assembly chairman; at the same time—as we have already mentioned earlier at this session—we would like to submit the bill on the abrogation of sentences for violation of the law between 1945 and 1963.

Second, the one-page submission in connection with the ban on appropriation and debit charging of the former church properties. We, the government, do not wish to submit anything else. The reason for this second one is that until the preparation of the property law, property reform, and privatization law, which most probably will be the task of the new government, the new parliament, we should not increase the chaos in the sphere of the former church properties. As long as there is no clear picture before the new parliament and government, then, at the moment, various companies should not get a foothold on the situation: A short ban is necessary on such real estate swaps until the situation can be clarified.

We have already justified the first proposals, and there was agreement on this when we first announced this at the earlier summit. The government does not wish to submit anything else for 14 March.

Regarding the second question concerning the Soviet troop withdrawal; at the consultations it was said that until the new government steps into office, the present government is to exercise power with full responsibility, and regarding foreign politics, it should carry out negotiations and ensure continuity and undertake the necessary tasks for a peaceful transition. Well, on this basis and starting earlier, for about two years the government has engaged in intensive negotiations with the Soviet Government on the final troop withdrawal.

The government, however, has been criticized or questioned by several people as to why we did not convince the parties, or society, that we are doing everything to achieve a troop withdrawal at the soonest possible date. The government also intended to reach a date as soon as possible for a troop withdrawal. Following multistage professional negotiations by experts, we are close to an agreement. This agreement meets society's wishes and those of the people, too.

We consider that on the basis of the National Assembly's authorization and also taking into consideration the remarks made here, it is the government's duty to continue and conclude the negotiations. This authorization was given at the National Assembly session on 14 February, in the decree No. 8/1990, and was given to the government regarding the continuation of the Hungarian-Soviet negotiations so that an agreement should be reached on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Hungary.

As a result of our negotiations, there is only one item that is still open in the draft agreement. That is, a resolution of one of the points that determines the date of the completion of the withdrawal. According to the Soviet side's stance, this date, for the combat units, is 30 June 1991, and for the military technicians and materials, it is 31 August 1991.

However, the Hungarian negotiating group held, and still holds the view even now, that a complete withdrawal—that is, the combat units in relation to the material and technicans too, has to be completed by 30 June 1991. Negotiations by experts are still under way today and even tomorrow, now on a higher level, and in our opinion, there is a realistic chance to sign the agreement on the final Soviet troop withdrawal, including everything, with the date of 30 June 1991.

My further remarks on this question—for it was also said that if the present Hungarian Government is not going to conclude the agreement, not with the aforementioned dates, then in that case, it should leave this to the government elected by the next National Assembly—I would like to point out the possible consequences of such scheduling.

First of all, I hope that after the elections, the new government, or the new coalition government, will be set up as soon as possible. But depending on the election results and the extent to which there will be a need for first or second rounds, the new government—and refute me if my calculations are wrong—can be set up sometime in the middle of May at the soonest. In this case, obviously, its first task will be to submit a government program to parliament and it is also obvious, that in its activities following the present government, it will have a number of questions on its plate—which we are trying to prepare in the most honest and decent manner possible—that it will have to deal with very urgently and swiftly.

Thus, if said now—and I do not suggest this—let us leave the negotiations where they are, and wait until the new government deals with it, I state with all responsibility or at least I predict, knowing all the details very well, that the probability is very slight that they will achieve anything better or closer than the present government draft. At the same time, if we stopped the whole thing now, there are regions of the country—and let me refer to the population of Debrecen—where aircraft are flying, and so, after intensive negotiations with the Soviet Army leadership here, the Southern Army Group, the Foreign Affairs Ministry people and the Defense Ministry, we achieve a considerable reduction in flights, reduced precisely at the request of the Hungarian population. And I still say that what the government has achieved so far at the negotiations—and not dictated by party interest—it would be expedient to achieve, similar to the Czechoslovaks, and sign the date of 30 June 1991.

The remark that we have to also consider the demands of the Hungarian people's economy, the transport of goods, is very important because the troops and materials leaving Czechoslovakia and the troops and material leaving Hungary can only leave the country at Zahony-Cop [Hungarian-Soviet border crossing]. Very considerable negotiations by experts were carried out among the three parties so that Hungary should not suffer any loss regarding the distribution of railway cars and tracks. If the scheduling planned by us and our negotiations on the basis of authorization given by the National Assembly can be concluded, the government would indeed like to sign this agreement.

As there was a reference to this here also, the various parties participating in the coalition, or after the elections, participating in the National Assembly, will not consider this binding. They have the right to do this, and they will have the possibility of renegotiating this; but we, considering also the people's demands and wishes, and seeing the seriousness, effectiveness, presicision and work of the experts' negotiations, we consider, that we have indeed done everything to meet the demand regarding the earliest possible deadline. In this case, it has indeed been discussed that on 15 March the foreign minister will fly to Moscow.

Regarding the third question: First of all, I would like to recall exactly what I said—and why I said it—in the National Assembly about the preparation of a coup attempt, which I read from the letter and which was also quoted by the press.

In connection with the report received about the intention [to mount a coup], I have said that in the summer of 1989 I asked the internal security organs three times about definite tasks and the gathering of information. And as the background to one of these cases, I reported an authentic letter that warned that there are people who are thinking about, even using armed means, to redirect the Hungarian processes, and to this end, they even consider it conceivable to make use of Czechoslovak and Romanian military aid, too. This is what is in the letter. I think that such a report was worth the effort—so that a peaceful transition would proceed—of being thoroughly checked out. This was done. As to how and what it resulted in, National Security Office leader Lajos Nagy will tell us briefly, and also why there was no court action, which is now demanded by many.

From this it will be apparent that the accusation aimed at the government, or me personally—about the silence so far having covered up the case—is, to say the least, nonsense—and these accusations do not lack a certain hostility either.

The question may arise: Did we have any reason to take such a warning seriously? I would remind you of a few things.

In the first half of 1989, there were some people who thought of the necessity for an emergency situation. Everybody knows this. But nobody knows that a group was also given the assignment of working out the appropriate draft measures for such an occasion. It was common knowledge that the leadership of Jakes, Ceausescu—but I could also mention Honecker here too—was watching the Hungarian changes with unconcealed suspicion and great reservations.

In July and August of 1989, Ceausescu strongly urged—and there is also a letter to prove this—that the Warsaw Pact member states should discuss the Polish, and obviously the Hungarian, development in order to determine how socialism could be defended in the given countries. This could have rightly given the idea to those against changes here at home that, if need be, they could count on brotherly help. In the fall of 1989 there were clear signs that if the energy supply become endangered and if, besides the reduction of Soviet deliveries, domestic disturbances also occurred, then this could create serious tension and dissatisfaction.

On the basis of all this, I gave the task to the interior minister and then I received a report that there was an objective basis for my initiation of the inquiry. The plotting has died out in the meantime and there is no objective evidence on the basis of which a prosecution or court proceedures could be started. In this situation I decided that this organization could not have endangered a peaceful transition, and there was no proper evidence either, thus the matter should not to be publicly disclosed.

Thus there were plenty of reasons—on the basis of what I have said—to investigate, and if there was really something brewing than to prevent it. But there was no reason to create panic on the basis of a suspicion, and in this I completely share the view of Erno Raffay and that of the Hungarian Deomcratic Forum [MDF], as I read in today's papers, and we had no basis or reason to forward this intelligence material to the court.

Therefore, I do not consider it timely to feed the confusion with further concrete things. I repeat: The fact that such an intention and idea occupied several people was true. But the matter did not get any further, probably also as a result of our attention to it, and an intention is not yet a crime. Only those people who follow the logic of despotic methods—and please do not misunderstand me—can think of a prosecution or a criminal investigation. If the steps of the intelligence inquiry, together with the vastly changed outside circumstances, discourage the plotters, then the given predicament is solved in the best possible way for society. This is what happened in Hungary.

We did not create widespread chaos and legal measures did not have to be undertaken either. The tension was shouldered by the few necessary people, not from arbitrariness, but on the basis of duty and responsibility.

The reason why I mentioned this in the National Assembly was to describe the situation and to prove that we have used the internal security organs precisely in the interests of preserving the peaceful nature of the transition, and that its particular methods are indeed needed for this kind of service. There is a need for a secret service and an army that operate professionally, responsibly and that serve the interests of the entire nation. It is clear from a political and professional point of view that we have taken great steps in this direction; it is a pity that regarding the security services—and here I feel my own responsibilty—that steps were taken only after a delay, thus allowing the erruption of the Dunagate affair.

What was established, the new organizations, the modern defense and state security services, which are easily controlled and supervised—well I can responsibly say that we can be proud of them.

In a delicate sphere—but one that is indispensable for the survival of the nation—we have destroyed the monolithic party-state pyramid; we blew away the mystic fog and brought order. So that order could be maintained in society, these organizations, concerning their main activity, have to be opened from the outside; however, their internal concrete work has to be carried out legally, in a controlled manner, but according to their names, secretly.

People who say that this government destroyed this apparatus, do not cry about the activity serving the national interests, but its dangerous and untenable party-state structure. If you will permit, the Security Office leader will add a few words.

Nagy Explains Planned Coup

LD0503184190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1415 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Speech by National Security Service chief Lajos Nagy, with introduction by Matyas Szuros, provisional president of the republic, at the 12-party national summit meeting in Budapest—live]

[Text] [Szuros] If you will allow it, the head of the Security Office will say a few more words. Please.

[Nagy] Thank you. Esteemed Mr. President, I will strive to be brief, but since I will now have to try to throw light on a very obscure area, through you I would ask the esteemed representatives of the parties here present to allow me to go into this topic a little more deeply.

[Szuros] Yes, but I would ask you all the same to be as brief as possible.

[Nagy] I shall try to be.

[Szuros] Please continue.

[Nagy] I examined the antecedents and the following came to my notice. Between 6 and 10 November—we could not define the time more precisely than this, in view of the fact that no written trace of our investigation remains, and I will explain why—the former interior minister went to see the former, the then, deputy minister for state security, who summoned the then head of the counterintelligence service, and explained that he was requesting a control, data-control, activity to be carried out in a very sensitive matter, or rather that, in so far as the suspicion turned out to be grounded, [he was requesting] that an investigation be initiated. The essence of the matter, as has already been said here and as you know, was to disrupt the energy supply in a certain area of the country, and with this to provide a basis for those who are pro-order [rendpartiak], if you like, to be able to step onto the scene.

I should make one or two things clear because in the public awareness, in journalistic jargon, the word putsch, or putsch attempt, or putsch preparation is constantly being heard. Well, the Hungarian penal code does not contain the word putsch as such, but here there are two legal factors constituting an offense that could come into question: The offense of forcibly changing the constitutional order, or organizing against the constitutional order. In common parlance this can also be called conspiracy, or organization for insurrection, and perhaps that is also easier to understand.

The reason why a great deal of confusion can be seen in this issue is because this topic has two sides: a political side and a legal side. And between these two lies secret service activity, which by its very nature is covered in great obscurity, and up till now the work of these services was hidden from public opinion, let us say, to an even bigger extent than justified. Since the matter was taking place at this level, that is to say the level of the secret service, I will now reveal what can be done by the counterintelligence service, and what it was able to do in this case. And I would just observe in passing that it also makes one think why the deputy minister for state security did not pass this task on to the internal prevention service, or as it is better known, the internal security service. But I do not want to draw conclusions from this now, but obiously he had a reason for it.

At the counterintelligence service, two people were entrusted with this task because it is an extraordinarily sensitive topic and sensitive names came up here. In the course of the measures, the first was to check whether the report was grounded in regard to the fact that at this time we were in the period after 23 October, and at the state security service in many areas it had been recognized that every regulation relating to state security work ran counter to the Constitution. For this reason, for example, the state security deputy of the Budapest police headquarters on his own authority, if you like, and against the opposition of his leaders, suspended all activity.

This was more or less the situation in counterintelligence as well and that is why no written documents came into being. If I may so put it, the work was done verbally, on the basis of verbal commands.

What happened was that here we ordered the tapping of the telephones of several persons—among them two Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] members since at that time the MSZMP was undergoing reorganization. We did this because if organization is taking place, then one can presume connections, and telephone tapping might perhaps bear results. One thing proved true. That here the intention [to cause disruption in power supply] had not reached the stage of organization that would have constituted the offense of forcibly changing the constitutional order, which in particular also demands the use of an armed force, since up until that time their intention had not been realized in any action that might have been a step toward the Army. Therefore, the Army did not know about the matter. This is one of the essential points. The thing is that at this time—I would just add, in order to avoid misunderstandings, that those who carried out the phone tapping, who were exclusively two persons, were given the order that they must not record any data not connected with the matter. For example, [they were not to record] any aspect of the conversations that were connected with the party's reorganization, or that were of a private nature. In other words, the service was interested explicitly only in information that might confirm the basic suspicion.

No such information was forthcoming. Only things like the question—which they put to one another: What would happen if? The intention can be seen in this, but this does not constitute even preparatory action aimed at forcibly changing the constitutional order because no positive action occurred in regard to their creating an organization with this objective. It is possible that they might have created it had it not happened that the reform of the Army, which already figured in the government's program, was implemented at an accelerated rate, and had the external conditions not altered. For in that hostile environment, a person could rightly have been expected that a Ceausescu or a Jakes would be happy to come and help whoever it may be in this country, to promote the rollback [visszarendezoedes]. In that situation, this could rightly be presumed. But by November... I think, if I remember correctly, as a matter of fact the Prague demonstration on the 17th [November], one week after which Jakes was no longer in power, but to all intents and purposes he was not in power even after the 17th... by that time external and internal circumstances had fundamentally changed. This prompted those who were intending to carry out or plan such an activity to voluntarily desist from further organization.

According to our presently valid penal code, it is not possible to punish a person for forcibly changing the constitutional order if that person does not continue with the offense as a result of his having voluntarily desisted, or a person who voluntarily impedes its continuation.

The person who lodged this report may be deemed to have voluntarily impeded its continuation. But, since there was no proof of such value on whose basis an investigation could have been launched, this topic could not enter the phase of prosecution, what is more, not even the phase of investigation.

Let me give two examples of why it is necessary—in every case where suspicion arises with regard to anyone, and where it seems to be grounded—to conduct control activity with secret service means. Once, abroad, the suspicion arose with regard to someone that he or she was cooperating with the secret service of the host country. We ordered an investigation. A year later I asked for a report. They said the invesigation did not produce any result. I said: What do you mean, no result? Well, what it showed is that the person did not commit what he was suspected of. Well, isn't that a result? Is it a result only if we catch a spy? It is a much bigger result if we manage to prevent this.

Or, precisely in the course of the elimination of this espionage activity, when we were unable to prove...

[Szuros, interrupting] I would ask you to stay with the topic.

[Nagy] Yes.

[Szuros] Because there will not be much time left for parties to exchange views.

[Nagy] Then let me just add that we have such a letter in our possession at present. I received it last week. It was addressed to me. It relates to another area of the country. It is full of specific names. But it is not possible to initiate prosecution procedures merely on the basis of this. Well, let met just say that I received another one today. Here it is. Thank you very much.

[Szuros] I also thank you.

Agreement Reached

LD0503235390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2145 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Report by unidentified reporter on "joint position" reached at the national summit held at the Parliament Building in Budapest on 5 March]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Right now the party delegations are signing the archive copy of their stance. I have in my hands a draft agreement, which has now become an agreement. At today's 12-party meeting, in which there were three brief recesses and which began more than eight hours ago, a joint position was reached in the following three out of the four agenda points that were discussed.

First, the representatives of the 12 parties participating in the talks consider it desirable that all political forces concerned in the elections refrain from all measures and demonstrations that endanger the peaceful transition. The premier and the National Security Office chief gave a briefing on the phone-tapping scandal and on what were believed to be violent endeavors for a rollback, as related by the premier at the most recent session of parliament. The majority of parties taking part in the discussions, for various reasons, received the briefing with reservations. The parties that were present agreed that apart from the laws on rehabilitation and a ban on alienation of former church real estate, the National Assembly should not conduct further legislative activity.

The parties taking part in the discussions urged the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Opinions were divided whether the current or the new government should conclude the agreement pertaining to this. A unified standpoint took shape that the ratification of the agreement, that is its legal sanctioning, should fall under the new parliament's jurisdiction.

The parties that took part noted the premier's proposal that the parties' representatives should be given government-level briefings on the talks' details. The premier was not averse to fulfilling the request that representatives of the parties should take part in the talks with observer status.

On the second agenda point, the parties agreed that the method of counting votes must fully accord with the stipulations of the election law. Here, they consider it especially significant to continuously make the results public, that the system should be easy to understand and monitor, and that it should be adequately protected. It was agreed that with the collaboration of experts—they will shape an opinion—the systems proposed by the State Office of Population Records, as well as by the Ministry of the Interior, should be in operation simultaneously. Here, they probably did not notice that there is an inaccuracy in wording; in this form the sentence cannot really be understood.

Let us go on. The parties noted that, in accordance with the electoral law, the responsibility for the lawfulness of the implementation of the tasks falling on the interior minister, especially the direction of the computerized system for tallying up votes, is borne by the premier as government director of the Interior Ministry. The participants in the discussions consider it absolutely necessary that the mass media should inform the electors in as much detail as possible about the order of elections, the method of voting, and what should be known regarding the elections.

Regarding the agreement that came about in the framework of the third agenda point—and this is the shortest sentence, as well as the last one on which agreement was reached—the parties invariably consider it important that it is necessary to preserve the stability and the operability of public administration, the police, and the Hungarian Army. That is, they consider it important to preserve their stability, operability. Thus, when stylizing it, they modified the text. Therefore, this is the agreement, whose basic copy is now being signed. [passage omitted]

Agreement was reached in issues that were not underlined here, yet it was considered important to record the opinions on these, for example, regarding how long the mandate of the new government will last, how the transfer of power will take place. However, experts will have to confer on this in the coming days. What is certain is that the new government, more precisely, the current government, will be in power until the new government comes into office. Yet the government must submit its resignation at the first parliamentary session after the parliamentary elections. However, it immediately will receive a mandate to continue to function as a caretaker government, but it will be answerable to the new parliament, that is to the parliament that is elected on 25 March or in the second round on 8 April.

MSZMP Reacts to Nemeth 'Putsch' Allegation

LD0203223490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] According to MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Chairman Gyula Thurmer, if the news of the putsch is untrue, then it can only serve the purpose of a party political maneuver. The interview with Peter Marvanyi follows:

[Begin recording] [Thurmer] We were shocked at the news of the prime minister's anouncement. I cannot even imagine to whom can it occur today in Hungary to prepare an armed putsch in 1989.

We were also shocked by the prime minister's announcement because he made it in front of the National Assembly and the nation's public without having named the concrete persons responsible.

[Marvanyi] Can you name names?

[Thurmer] Well, if the prime minister is unable to name them, how could we know?

[Marvanyi] But I think the prime minister did not want to disclose names.

[Thurmer] If the prime minister had knowledge of this already on 2 November [1989], since then his duty would have been to inform the National Assembly and the country. If there are really facts behind this then he ought to have done this. However, if there are no facts behind this, and I cannot state this now, if there are no facts behind this, then the prime minister's announcement cannot be considered anything else but a party political maneuver before the elections, and we reject this.

[Marvanyi] Could the new MSZMP have any knowledge about the plotting of those who were, presumably, the main cadres of the old MSZMP?

[Thurmer] The renewed Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party cannot have anything to do with this for it exists as of 17 December [1989].

[Marvanyi] But could it perhaps have something to do with people who joined the MSZMP on 17 December, but they were not members earlier?

[Thurmer] As to who are we talking about, it has to be disclosed by the prime minister, for he made this anouncement.

[Marvanyi] A last question about the inner life of your own party. We received the information that Robert Ribanszky left the Central Committee.

[Thurmer] The news is true, he said he considers the present policy of the party too lenient, and our statutes too democratic. He envisions a more militant, a more regimental party. In our view, there is no need for such a party, but for a democratic, modern, and resolute party. [end recording]

Groups Demand 'Bugging Scandal' Explanation

LD0303185190 Budapest MTI in English
1654 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—Representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] and the Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD] held election rallies on Saturday. Both rallies dealt with the announcement made by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth on Friday, at the session of parliament, in the debate over the report of the examination committee dealing with the bugging scandal.

Mr Nemeth told parliament that late last autumn, he received a letter, informing him that in one county, the former county leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] were preparing an armed power take-over, for which they had won over the leaders of the major county companies. They wanted to cause hitches in water and energy and material supply, and also counted on Czechoslovak and Romanian military assistance. Mr Nemeth said that there was some truth to what was reported in the letter.

"Miklos Nemeth's announcement in parliament on Friday was a clever political trick, but the prime minister did not reveal significant information. For instance, he did not talk about how, almost one year ago, in the course of a hunt in Kaszopuszta, generals of the Ministries of the Interior and Defence, and politicians of the HSWP at that time, were planning an armed military take-over of power. I, as chairman of the defence work group of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, have rather precise information about this, said Erno Raffay, parliamentary MP [Member of Parliament] in Szeged on Saturday," at the election of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Raffay went on to say he did not bring this information to the knowledge of parliament because, in his view, he would have caused an even deeper government crisis with this. And it is desirable that this government lead the country up to the elections, he said.

"The Free Democrats were shocked to hear the announcement of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, that the government had been aware since last autumn of preparations for a coup, but did not inform the public about it until now," said Miklos Haraszti, executive of the Alliance of Free Democrats, at the AFD election rally held in Budapest on Saturday.

Haraszti held it regrettable that this announcement was made only at a time when it had become clear that the statement of the prime minister, similarly to other members of government and HSP leaders, did not accord to reality with respect to whether they requested and received internal reports containing information gathered with the use of unlawful means.

"As compared to what was said by the prime minister, we do not believe he saved the country from the organizers of the coup, but rather saved the coup organizers from the wrath of the country. Democracy can be defended only in one way: by publicly disclosing who strive against it, by holding lawful proceedings. With its silence, and the disregard of an investigation, the government in effect covered for the forces that endanger democracy," AFD Executive Miklos Haraszti said.

"We demand that the perpetrators of the autumn coup preparations be named, and that lawful proceedings be launched against them," he said in conclusion.

National Assembly Discusses Pensions, IMF Loan

LD0503165490 Budapest MTI in English
1316 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 5, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The outgoing Hungarian Government has again won a battle in its quest to get its 1990 budget, a sine qua non for a new, 160-million-SDR [special drawing rights] IMF loan, implemented.

At the weekend parliamentary session, one MP wanted to raise minimum pensions to at least 5,200 forints (80 USD) per month, and child benefits by at least 300 to 400 forints a month. All this would have meant an extra 28-29 billion forints (440 million USD) in budget expenditure, while the deficit of 54 billion forints (900 million USD) last year has to be cut to 10 billion forints (150 million USD) this year, as laid down in the letter of intent the government presented to the IMF.

Laszlo Bekesi, Hungarian minister of finance, explained at the session that the IMF board would be considering the Hungarian letter of intent on March 14, and no loan agreement will be forthcoming if the IMF feels in any way unsure about the Hungarian Parliament's resolution to implement the budget. The main lines of which were agreed upon with the international financial institution in December.

If the IMF says "No," then commercial banks and international organizations might also refuse their resources, in which case the Hungarian economy would not even be able to survive until the March 25 elections, Mr Bekesi said.

He offered a compromise deal in which social welfare payments, currently lower than the subsistence minimum of 4,300 forints (66 USD) a month, should be raised to that level. This will only require 280-300 million forints (4.6 million USD) in extra expenditure. Parliament accepted this version, with the proviso that the new parliament will look into the matter again from June.

Last week, the government was again victorious: it defeated an attempt by one MP to annul an earlier move of slapping a 50 to 100 per cent tax on mortgage capital and interest repayments, which home owners got at 1 to 3 per cent interest in the last ten years. From this tax and a rise in council rents, the budget expects an extra income of 10 billion forints this year, while the market-oriented reorganization of the Hungarian mortgage system is also a condition of the IMF loan.

Nyers Discusses MSZP-Trade Union Relations

AU0203125390 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 1 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers by Tibor Flanek; place and date not given: "Self-Liquidation Would Hurt the Employees"]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the trade union congress beginning today, Rezso Nyers gave an interview to a NEPSZAVA correspondent.

[Flanek] Mr. Nyers, most of your party's effort is now engaged in seeking its own identity. Under such conditions, what are your relations with the trade union movement in general? Do you see a potential ally in the trade union movement?

[Nyers] One of the important elements of our search for an identity is our relationship with the trade union movement. To put it more clearly: We definitely see a potential ally in the trade union movement, an ally that is struggling for democracy in our economic life, namely for the implementation of the masses' interests, while the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is trying to represent a political line suitable for the interests of the working people. However, we no longer consider it possible to continue the Communist relations between the party and the trade unions, and we are totally in favor of the trade unions' independence. [passage omitted]

[Flanek] A few weeks ago, you supported the anti-price increase demonstration organized by the so-called official trade unions, a demonstration condemned by the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions. This demonstration was intended against the government whose premier and heads of several important ministries are leading your party's election list. Is there not some kind of split-personality situation here?

[Nyers] In my view, there is not. We did away with the concept that the party members in the government should represent the party position on every political issue. On the contrary, to a certain limit, we consider it to be inevitable for party policy opinions and government opinions to be different. [passage omitted]

[Flanek] There are opinions—like the opinion of the Free Democrats—according to which the building of the entire trade union movement should be started from scratch, from individual members. Thus, first, the old Stalinist structure should be completely demolished because it cannot be renewed.

[Nyers] I consider the idea that we should start everything from scratch to be deeply unrealistic and mistaken. It is also impossible to carry this out because this would only lead to a situation whereby the trade unions would submit themselves to an almost self-liquidation. I think that the workers' interests cannot accept this, because the property and managerial organizations will organize quickly, and, if the trade union movement liquidates itself in the meanwhile, they would suffer a setback that would hurt the employees. [passage omitted]

[Flanek] Do you expect a genuine renewal at the current congress, a renewal of the movement as a whole? Do you envision the creation of a legitimate federation with genuine leaders?

[Nyers] I expect a genuine renewal. However, I do not expect the conclusion of this renewal process at this national congress. I think something has begun in the life of various professions. I visited several trade unions in recent weeks, and I met with enterprise workers and professional leaders, and I gained the impression that genuine changes are taking place. If this continues, I also expect the continuation of the reform process from this congress. [passage omitted]

National Trade Union Council Holds Congress

LD0203121790 Budapest MTI in English 1100 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—The three-day, XXVIth congress of the Hungarian trade unions began in Budapest Convention Centre on Friday.

The congress was convened with the intention of founding the Hungarian Confederation of Trade Unions.

The agenda, worked out by delegates at a closed session on Thursday [1 March], includes a debate over the report by the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) on developments since the previous congress, a proposal on the principles of forming an asset-handling centre for trade unions, and the drafts of the statutes and manifesto of the confederation.

First, Laszlo Paszternak, president of the Metalworkers' Trade Union, greeted the more than 1,000 delegates, almost 600 guests and representatives of 32 trade unions from 24 countries and 5 international organizations.

Then, in his keynote address, Sandor Nagy, president of the National Coordination Council of Trade Unions, said the congress was aimed at drawing a veil over a period, proclaiming the end of SZOT and the trade union organization associated with its name, and opening the way for a new trade union confederation of changed content based on new foundations.

Assembly Decisions Criticized

LD0203174890 Budapest MTI in English 1614 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—On the first day of the Congress of the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT), the report was followed by a debate. Contributors criticized the most recent decisions of parliament, the measures taken by the government, and the efforts aimed at dividing the trade union membership. They also called for the creation of a new, prestigious trade union confederation that thinks in a different manner.

Issues of the almost impossible task of child raising, the bleak future of young people, unemployment that threatens the honest workers, and the everyday issues of the existence of pensioners were all raised, similarly to the demand that state leaders responsible for the future of the country give account of their assets, and to be called to responsibility.

The key words of the conceptions outlined about the new trade union confederation were cooperation, a readiness for compromise, level-headedness, autonomy and independence.

Debate Alters Proceedings

LD0203231790 Budapest MTI in English 1923 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—The debate on property issues interrupted work at the Trade Union Congress in Budapest on Friday right before closing the report which was the first point on the agenda.

According to the original plan, the 26th Trade Union Congress would end with the adoption of statement after discussing the report on the work since the latest congress, and then it would continue as the founding congress of the national confederation.

The dispute was about the draft statement which included—apart from the break with the past and the recognition of the trade union's responsibility—also that the property of the trade union movement belongs to the membership, and the separately handled assets of the Central Council of Trade Union (SZOT) have to be given back to all trade unions representing the membership or, according to another version, to all registered trade unions.

The postal workers proposed either to discuss the distribution of property at the 26th congress or to leave out the issue from the draft resolution. After a lengthy debate, the congressional committees and the delegates which made proposals in relation to the subject decided to sit down to discuss the further agenda of the conference.

New TU Congress Opens; SZOT 'Era' Ends

LD0303194190 Budapest MTI in English 1542 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—The founding congress of the National Trade Union Confederation opened on Saturday in Budapest, as the 26th congress of trade unions ended on Friday. This now ends the trade union movement era highlighted with the name of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT).

On Friday, delegates approved the closing statement of the 26th congress, according to which the past four decades proved to be a dead-end street also in the history of the trade union movement. Certain trade union leaders bear grave responsibility for the fact that, becoming incorporated into the power structure, they, too, were interested in the alienated operation of the trade unions from the workers.

Delegates stressed in the document that the trade unions once and for all break with their activity carried out in the past 40 years, which alienated them from their original mission and the will of those who founded them. The trade unions have only one task: to represent the employees, to protect and efficiently enforce the interests of their members.

Miners Union Sees Strike as Possibility

LD0303231590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] What is the opinion of the miners about the crisis within the trade union movement? Erika Gulyas reports from their conference:

[Gulyas] It is not the case that the trade union alliance of the workers in the mining industry does not want to joint the new national trade union alliance. This is not why half of the miners delegates left the congress center shortly before 1000 today, but because the situation became so critical in the mining industry that precise formulations of the problems and forcing government decisions in the matter permits no delay.

The federal council of the miners' trade union wants to force, by all means, the present government to make decisions for the improvement of the financial situation of the industry and the wage level of the workers.

The debt stock of mining investments reached 40 billion [currency not given], while enterprise losses were seven billion. The reason is that the Hungarian enterprises get for Hungarian coal exactly half of what the import coal cost. As a result of this, at present, the wages of 70,000 workers are in danger because the Budapest Bank does not want to credit their wages even with a 30 percent interest.

Thus, the trade union of mineworkers demands Central Bank or budget guarantees for the ensurance of solvency of the eight mining enterprises. Otherwise, it could happen very soon that the largest power stations operating on coal, as for example the Ajka and Gyoengyoesvisonta power stations, will have to shut down due to the lack of coal. These power stations only have a 21-day reserve at the moment. Together with the Soviet energy limitations, this could cause serious trouble in the Hungarian energy supply.

The miners' trade union therefore is fighting so that the miners should be able to get at least the average industrial wage increase, for last year they got less than one-third of the wage increase of those working in industry. Antal [name indistinct], general secretary of the trade union alliance of miners, has anounced categorically that the trade union is determined that if the expected measures are not carried out within a forceeable period of time, that is during the operation of the present government, the trade union, making use of international solidarity also, will go to the very limit, including strikes.

Parties' Election Appeals Broadcast

LD0303155690

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1905 GMT on 1 March broadcasts a 10-minute election appeals program. There is no video available. The announcer says the appeals have been prepared by five parties that can field candidates in the 25 March parliamentary elections. Each party has edited and is responsible for its own appeal.

The first appeal is by the Christian Democratic People's Party. An unidentified speaker says that since it has been relaunched, the party has fought against misleading statements aimed at its isolation, however, the people have trust in the Christian world view, as demonstrated by the many thousands of nomination slips handed in for Christian Democratic People's Party candidates. The ideas of this party are based on universal Christian moral and ethical values, as symbolized by the signature tune and introductory scene of this appeal: the music was by Bach and the film clip showed a Catholic Church, says the spokesman. The appeal ends with a call for the voters to demonstate their Christain responsibility and help the Christian Democratic People's Party by voting for its candidates.

The second appeal begins with a brief excerpt from a folk song, followed by an unidentified speaker on behalf of the Patriotic Election Coalition, who explains that the coalition was created so that the important political organizations and parties should join forces in Hungary's current, crisis-ridden situation. The coalition is the sole force that can push the most important parties into a joint government and a genuine acceptance of responsibility. He appeals for votes to show support for multiparty democracy; if the Patriotic Election Coalition obtains enough support the best people from nearly every party may enter the new coalition government.

After introductory music, the third appeal, by the Hungarian Socialist Party, begins with the voice of an elderly man describing the place where Premier Miklos Nemeth was born, where he went to school, why he continued his studies in Miskolc, Budapest, and then Boston. This man introduces himself as Miklos's father; he says, what can I say, I know my son! No matter how far away from home he has gone, he has remained with us. Here is where his poor ancestors lived; they raised us to be honest, decent, and hard working, and this is how we raised our children, says Miklos's father. Recordings from past speeches delivered to the National Assembly by Miklos Nemeth are then broadcast. His father says he trusts Miklos will do his utmost in the future for the benefit of the country and the people. This is followed by a female voice saying, God bless you, and the introductory strains of the Hungarian anthem.

The fourth election appeal is from the Independent Smallholders' Party. A male voice, heard over classical music, explains that 45 years ago the people of the country, which was bleeding from 1,000 wounds, took the side of the Smallholders' Party by giving it a 57 percent absolute majority in the elections. Now, when we are preparing again for free elections, the party's values have not changed: They want internal freedom, external independence, wine, wheat, and peace for every Hungarian. Then follows a recording of a male voice declaring that they want a new economic system whose basis is the restoration of property relations that accord with the conditions between 1945 and 1947 and the reinstatement of honestly obtained private property. At the same time, they do not tolerate monopolies of any kind, nor price cartels. Just like 45 years ago, the Independent Smallholders' Party is standing in front of the electors with a program that guarantees the rebirth of the nation. Its past, present, and future is clean.

The fifth appeal, which is on behalf of the Agrarian Alliance, begins with music. An unidentified male spokesman says that the Agrarian Alliance wants a peaceful change of system and a neutral Hungary. It is aware that this small country must solve difficult problems, and for this reason it is endeavoring for a joining of forces, not a division. It does not pay special attention to attacks on it from the right and left; its goal is the advance of the Hungarian countryside, the village, agriculture, and the creation of genuine self-government. It is striving so that its representatives in parliament are able to control power and its function. Let us not allow others to decide on our fate without us, concludes the spokesman.

Democratic Forum Leader Discusses Elections

PM0503100290 Paris LE MONDE in French
1 Mar 90 p 5

[Sylvie Kauffmann report: "Democratic Forum Leader Thinks the Communists 'Cannot Participate in a Government Coalition'"]

[Text] The 25 March election during which the Hungarians are due to elect their deputies freely for the first time in more than 40 years promises to be a close-run election: Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Free Democrats' Alliance [SDS], the two biggest opposition parties, are vying for the voters' favor. MDF Chairman Jozsef Antall, on a visit to Paris, said he is convinced that his movement will head a government coalition after the elections.

There is at least one thing on which the MDF and SDS agree: The main loser in the free parliamentary elections on 25 March should be the Hungarian Socialist Party, the former Communist Party renamed last October and still in power.

The most optimistic opinion polls give it 10 percent of the votes, and the reason why MDF Chairman Jozsef Antall mentioned the Hungarian Socialist Party only once in an interview lasting more than one hour, is because the question was put to him. "The Hungarian Socialist Party," he replied curtly, "cannot participate in a coalition after the elections."

Democratic Forum's real rivals are the SDS Free Democrats who were shown to be ahead with 25 percent of the votes in one of the two opinion polls published on 27 February, with the MDF winning 20 percent. The other opinion poll, published by the Hungarian agency MTI, however, gives 23.8 percent to the MDF and 18.4 percent to the SDS.

However, Mr. Antall admitted in an interview granted to LE MONDE, "we are aware that support for the SDS has increased recently." Why? "They have considerable means, a well-oriented propaganda, and are waging a large-scale election campaign." The MDF leader, who readily admits "technical aid" from the [French] Rally for the Republic and the U.S. Republican Party, nonetheless refused to speculate on the origin of his opponents' resources.

The time for counterattack has therefore come. But the basic arguments are difficult to use because the programs of most of the opposition parties are very similar. Mr. Antall, who, using West European criteria, places the Hungarian Democratic Forum "somewhere between Giscard and Chirac or between the Christian Democratic Union and the German Liberal Party," pointed out: "It is true that there are few differences in the programs' basic principles. Who wants anything but national independence? Who is opposed to membership in Europe, parliamentary democracy, and the market economy?"

Left-Wing Label

To draw a distinction between the two big movements in the voters' minds, Mr. Antall is anxious to maintain the left-wing label for his SDS rivals. The notion of the left in Hungarian public opinion is often likened to communism. The chairman of the MDF, a movement rooted particularly in the provinces, whereas the SDS is stronger in Budapest, has no hesitation in stressing the number of former Communists—like Mr. Kis—"or even former Maoists," in the SDS.

This 57-year old university teacher added proudly: "I have never in my life been a member of the Communist Party and I have never had any relations with the Communists." This is an argument aimed at denying those who accuse the MDF, the first organized opposition movement in Hungary, of having flirted too much with the former Communist Party reformers and especially with their leader Imre Pozsgay, who has been on the decline for several months.

With regard to the MDF's "nationalist" character, Mr. Antall said, it is an unfair attack "launched against us by our opponents to discredit us." Despite everything, Mr. Antall does not rule out a government coalition with the SDS if the Smallholders Party and the Christian Democrats do not succeed in making up the MDF's score.

After meeting President Bush in Washington, the MDF leader was received in Paris on 26 and 27 February by Mr. Chirac, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, Mr. Fabius, Mr. Poher, Mr. Beregovoy and, at the Elysee, by. Mr Bianco. On 27 February, he was seeing Chancellor Kohl in Bonn.

5 Parties Present Election Platforms

LD0303152190

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1905 GMT on 2 March carries a 10-minute election program in which five political parties present their platforms for the upcoming general election. No video is available.

The first appeal is for the "renewed" Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] by party Chairman Gyula Thuermer. He says the party has existed for two months, and works under difficult circumstances with a lack of money. There are many people in the country who do not wish to throw out the results of the past 45 years, but to correct the mistakes. He thanks all supporters, particularly the people in the countryside. It is thanks also to these people that the MSZMP has not been erased from political life. We must not let the cooperative movement be destroyed; the land should belong to those who cultivate it, and the state should support this. The countryside should not suffer disadvantages compared to the towns. Thuermer urges people to go bravely to the elections and vote for the MSZMP, the party of working people.

A Cooperative and Agrarian Party of Hungary representative says there is a need for their party; in the past, decisions have been made about the countryside by others. The countryside and cooperative sphere needs a political interest representation that can adequately put forward their interests. Among their aims are the representation of these areas, while acquainting the population of the country about the work and life of the cooperative sector. They count on the votes of all agrarian workers who agree with their program. They have entered into a coalition with another significant ally, the Agrarian Association, through which they believe they can be successful at the elections.

The National Smallholders and Bourgeois Party representative expresses astonishment that the National Assembly, which was overwhelmingly appointed by the ruling party, has again given peasantry a slap in the face on the question of land reform. The National Assembly is incapable of breaking with the tragic and culpable past. Sales of peasants' land must be impeded. Their fundamental principle is that private ownership is the only form of ownership that can cease the crisis and revive the economy because the owner is the person interested in both profits and costs. Thus, they want a constitutional guarantee for private property, protection for owner and property. A vote for this party is a vote for peace.

The Entrepreneurs' Party says they have 63 candidates at the elections. The crisis of Hungarian economic and social life has reached a critical stage. The standard of living and the future is endangered. Action must be taken. The specter of unemployment and inflation must be halted. A struggle must be waged against social and economic collapse; the useful work of citizens and their groups that operate private property and that create assets must be put in the forefront. Their aim is to construct a self-maintaining economy where usefulness and performance is the yardstick, and the reward is material well-being and moral recognition. The development of entrepreneurial values is the most rapid way of creating many workplaces, which ensure a decent livelihood. Only this gives guarantees for decent pensions, for the future of young people, and large families.

The Electoral Association of the County Baranya Village Association concludes the program. Their speaker expressed thanks for the many thousands of nominating slips that have made it possible for them to put forward candidates in individual constituencies in the country. Special thanks is expressed for these slips and encouraging letters from all over the country, which prove that their association is on the right path, that there is a need for interest representation for the disadvantaged villages and countryside. The speaker introduces some of their individual candidates by name. Their aim is to represent the interests of those living in the countryside and in villages. They wish to do this at all times, free from party political interests.

Patriotic Electoral Coalition, Churches Meet

LD0303050590 Budapest MTI in English 2030 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—Representatives of the Patriotic Electoral Coalition and the Hungarian churches held a conference in Budapest on Friday under the leadership of Kalman Kulcsar, president of the Patriotic People's Front.

The meeting was told there was extensive social need, in connection with the parliamentary elections, for the presence of political forces which are not organized on party policy principle.

Reformed Bishop Karoly Toth pointed out that the parliamentary representation of the churches had its roots in history. Participants agreed that the parliament's decision of two days ago excluded the institutional responsibility of the churches, with millions of their adherents, from legislative work.

Evangelic Bishop Gyula Nagy said that as "parliament is the highest pulpit in the country," the newly elected National Assembly should also return to this question.

Chief Rabbi Alfred Schoner spoke about what public tasks were shouldered by the section of Hungary's Jewish population which wants to organize itself as a national minority.

Unitarian Bishop Janos Huszti and Peter Harrach, representative of the Roman Catholic Church and national vice-president of the Patriotic People's Front, equally called for the marked presence in public life of a patriotic movement which is independent from parties, supported by a strong organizational background and expressing the will of non-party people.

Gyorgy Laszlo Asztalos, president of the Patriotic Electoral Coalition, offered the professional and political help of the organization in settling property law issues concerning the churches.

Coalition Holds Rally

LD0303235190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] The Patriotic Election Coalition wants to prevent further increases in unemployment and is recommending compromise solutions for the reduction of budget subsidies. This was emphasized by President Laszlo Asztalos at the election rally in Salgotarjan. As he said, the crisis of the economy can be expected to deepen for another year, but after a further year or two we could get back to the standard of living five years ago.

MSZP, Democratic Forum Election Rallies

LD0303050290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Today several parties held election meetings again, but so far we have only received reports on two of them. The Hungarian Socialist Party did not break out of dictatorship and destroy its state-party framework in order for Hungarian society to drift into another dictatorship, said Imre Pozsgay, leader of the party's list at the election meeting in Goedoelloe. He said that several parties, under the slogan of cleanness, are almost bordering on purges, and if this ideology gains power this will hide the danger of terror in it.

Party Chairman Jozsef Antall said at the election meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum in Oroshaza that during the short period since its foundation, his organization has become a political party that is also recognized internationally. At the same time, he added, mainly at home, many people abuse it with various slanders. Talking of foreign policy, Jozsef Antall said the Warsaw Pact has lost its validity for Hungary.

Parties Comment on Debt Rescheduling

LD0203135990 Budapest MTI in English 1130 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The association of Free Democrats, currently riding high in the polls, and leading in Budapest, has declared itself against seeking a rescheduling of Hungary's 20.7 billion USD foreign debt and any halt in carrying out its payment obligations.

However, Tamas Bauer, the party's economic spokesman said at a Thursday [1 March] rally in Budapest that his party does intend to initiate talks with creditors on possible moves to ease the debt burden, in the form of a partial deferment in interest payments and will also sell company shares on foreign markets for the same reason.

The Free Democrats see tackling inflation as their main priority. With further cuts in military expenditures and large state-financed investments, they see inflation falling from probably 25 per cent this year to 20 per cent in 1991 and to 5 per cent by 1994, Mr Bauer said, adding that the privatization process must continue.

Meanwhile at another rally in Eger, in northern Hungary, the Hungarian Socialist Party currently in government, but only fourth in the polls, Rezso Nyers, the party's president and architect of the country's first attempt at economic reform in 1968, also emphasized the importance of braking inflation. He added, however, a policy on prices cannot work without some degree of state control.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum, leading in nationwide polls, is also against any rescheduling of debts, as was made clear in a Thursday Budapest press conference of HDF President Laszlo Antall who has just returned from an extensive visit to France and the FRG.

Mr Antall recalled that his hosts in France emphasized the importance of safeguarding the solvency of Hungary and expressed disquiet at calls from smaller parties to halt the servicing of debts.

Alliance of Free Democrats Hold Rally

LD0303234890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Eva Cseh report on Alliance of Free Democrats rally in Bekescasaba]

[Text] Miklos Tamas Gaspar's exit from parliament on 2 March probably played a role in the fact that the Balassi Culture House in Bekescsaba was packed full at the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] election rally. I could even call the meeting one of a coalition, because I discovered faces of SZDSZ opponents in the crowd.

In accordance with expectations, Miklos Tamas Gaspar began his speech with what happened yesterday in parliament. As he said, Miklos Nemeth's private number, his interesting chronicle with folktale motivations about the coup, was the final straw. This was preceded, for example, by the antidemocratic amendment to the Constitution concerning the election of the president of republic and the alteration of the election law in connection with the parliamentary representation of nationalities. By means of the latter, the intent was that Mrs. Robert Jakab [currently deputy National Assembly speaker and general secretary of the Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary] and similar Communists should get into parliament and that thereby—heaven forbid—public opinion should be able to equate them with the Communists.

In connection with the elections, Miklos Tamas Gaspar said that their integrity is endangered not only by the Ministry of the Interior, but also by the country's not being free. If it were so, there would be a free press, most of which still constitutes the property of the party state now, and which for this reason informs the people badly because it presents our troubles as if they were consequences of democracy.

Miklos Tamas Gaspar also said in Bekescsaba that the winner in the elections will be from among three parties, the Independent Smallholders, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and the SZDSZ, but it already appears that differences between them are proliferating. Therefore, it is difficult for them to enter into a coalition.

Smallholders Party on Coalition Partners

LD0403221190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] The FKGP [Independent Smallholders, Farmworkers, Bourgeois Party] will not again make the historical mistake of cooperating with Communists or their sympathizers. This was announced by party press office chief Jeno Freisinger at the rally in Debrecen.

In his view, the FKGP would consider entering into coalition with the Free Democrats, the Young Democrats, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, and possibly with the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum].

Rally Held in Sopron

LD0603064190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] If the Independent Smallholders Party comes to power, its first measure will be to renounce the Warsaw Pact and call on Soviet troops to withdraw immediately. This was stated by the party's chief attorney at a mass election rally in Sopron. Jozsef Torgyan said the many tiny parties that exist at present have been brought into being by the ruling power in order to cause confusion and discredit the multiparty system.

Thurmer Addresses Election Rally

LD0603064990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] proposes that workers should place production and distribution under their supervision so directors cannot undeservedly pick up premiums to the tune of millions. At his mass election rally in Balassagyarmat, MSZMP Chairman Gyula Thurmer described as a grave mistake the government's allowing the organs of power to be broken up.

Agrarian Alliance Holds Election Rally

LD0303234990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] The Agrarian Alliance favors strengthening private ownership and would like to create cooperatives where members will become real owners. This was emphasized by Tamas Nagy at the party rally in Sarkad. As he said, the Agrarian Alliance is a supporter of the changing of the system, but it wants a peaceful, untroubled transition.

Opinion Poll Results on Upcoming Elections

AU0503151390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Mar 90 p 5

[MTI report: "If the Elections Were Held on 4 March"]

[Text] The Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute carried out an opinion poll based on a survey of 2,000 people in the first half of February 1990. The survey represents Hungary's adult population. Asked whether they would participate in the elections if these were held on 4 March, 56 percent of the people surveyed said they would definitely participate, 18 percent said they would probably participate, and 26 percent said they would definitely or probably not participate.

Some 81 percent of those who expressed their intention to participate in the elections also knew which party they would vote for. About three parties were mentioned: 20.9 percent would vote for the Hungarian Democratic Forum; 20 percent would vote for the Independent Smallholders Party; and 19.7 percent would vote for the Alliance of Free Democrats. The list continues with the Hungarian Socialist Party (10.9 percent); the Christian Democratic People's Party (5.2 percent); the Alliance of Young Democrats (five percent); the Hungarian Social Democratic Party (4.5 percent); and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (four percent.)

Among those who are not sure of their participation in the elections but say they probably will participate, 70 percent would support one of the parties. The Hungarian Democratic Forum can count on these people mostly, as 24 percent would vote for them. Some 17 percent would vote for the Independent Smallholders Party, and 12 percent would vote for the Alliance of Free Democrats. Some 10 percent would vote for the Alliance of Young Democrats and eight percent would vote for the Hungarian Socialist Party.

The Hungarian Socialist Party is stronger in the towns where they get twice as many votes from university graduates than from people of lower education. Most of the people who would vote for them come from middle-aged people.

Intelligence Chief Discusses Operations

AU0503142590 Budapest MTI in English 0824 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, 2 Mar (MTI)—The Friday issue of "NEPSZABADSAG" carries a short interview with Colonel Lajos Nagy, head of the National Security Service.

The colonel said no intervention of mail was being done at present, and the number of telephones tapped were under ten, all required by the threat of terrorism and espionage.

The colonel said ten persons were currently in prison on charges of espionage, including seven members of the former HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party]. There is not one person among them who had carried out opposition political activity.

To the question whether the Romanian Securitate, or its successor, will go on with its anti-Hungarian activity, Colonel Nagy said they had information to the effect that the former Securitate members had been left in their posts without exception, and that they were no longer passive...

Bekesi Offers Welfare Allowances Compromise

LD0203232490 Budapest MTI in English 1755 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—The proposal to further increase the minimum sums of family allowances, child-care fees and allowances, and pensions also enjoyed support from the Socialist Party.

Minister of Finance Laszlo Bekesi rejected the proposal, saying that any sort of raise would basically upset the fragile balance of economy, and the proposal would require at least 25,000 million forints. He said that Hungary has to repay 1,800 million dollars in the first quarter of 1990, in return for its debts and interests.

The agreement to be concluded with the International Monetary Fund is indispensable for recovery. The IMF board of directors is scheduled to decide about the Hungarian Government's declaration of intent on March 14.

The minister proposed the compromise: Allowances under the subsistence level—pensions and various child-raising allowances—should be raised to the subsistence level, 4,300 forints, from March 1. This will require 280-300 million forints which will not upset the balance.

Reaction to Proposed Tripartite Summit

AU0503143790

[Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 2 March on page 1 carries a 700-word report by an unidentified "diplomatic correspondent" on a news conference by Sandor Szabo, head of a district main department of the Foreign Ministry, about the Hungarian reaction to a proposed Hungarian-Polish-CSSR summit to be held in Bratislava, CSSR, under the headline: "Hungarian Opinion About the Tripartite Summit—We Will Be There at the Meeting."

The proposal, discussed during CSSR President Vaclav Havel's visit in Budapest, calls for "CSSR-Polish-Hungarian negotiations at the level of heads of states, premiers, and foreign ministers to be held on 9 April." According to Havel, he would "also welcome the participation of the Austrian and Italian foreign ministers as observers."

As to the agenda of the proposed meeting, Sandor Szabo is quoted as saying that "the strengthening of economic cooperation and the return of the three countries into Europe" would be among the issues to be discussed at the meeting.

According to Sandor Szabo, the Hungarian side also calls for "balanced relations between the countries involved and the pursuit of integration accompanied by the elimination of the prevailing differences of views."

Horn Discusses Problems With Neighbors

LD0403132490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0730 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by editor and announcer Jozsef P. Szabo on "From the World Clock" program; place and date not given]

[Text] [Szabo] It seems to me that even democratization cannot kill off the bacteria of nationalism and anti-Hungarian feelings in the East European countries. Should we not be afraid that this could escalate to government level too, despite the democratization?

[Horn] One must always be afraid that this could escalate to government level because there are a lot of experiences in this respect in this region. What is more, I would like to add that if the government, either the Slovak, or the Bucharest government would take more resolute measures against nationalistic manifestations, then they would be pushed into the background. Regarding Romania, undoubtedly it is a fact that it is very difficult to bring matters to a head in questions that are fundamentally important in order to resettle Hungarian-Romanian relations.

I would refer, first of all, to the Hungarian 18-point proposal. We have basically agreed on realizing this, in fact we concluded the agreement in a matter of minutes when I visited Bucharest on 29 December. One of these agreements was realized, that is, regarding cooperation in water management; at the same time, in the cultural and all other fields, we have especially emphasized that without Hungarian participation, the repair of the infinite destruction caused by the Ceausescu regime—most of all in the cultural and educational sphere—could hardly be envisioned.

Unfortunately, it is dreadfully difficult to make progress; I have to say that we had very many proposals during the past two months, and last time I had direct talks with my Romanian colleague Celac in Ottawa, where we outlined a schedule almost for each day in order to settle the matter of citizenship and the question of compensation for the people who fled Romania and are now living here. Such negotiation must be carried out at expert level because this is a very great worry.

[Szabo] And what about Czechoslovakia, the latest developments there?

[Horn] In Czechoslovakia, a particularly controversial situation has evolved. We welcomed the fact that the country has a new president of the republic, a new chairman in the parliament, and the government transformed; essentialy, it operates in a new composition and I do not even think that this higher leadership would approve of nationalistic excesses or actions in any way.

But it seems that it could not yet intervene in our neighbourhood, Slovakia, in such a way that these nationalistic manifestations could have been prevented. I do not just mean the demonstrations that have been mentioned. I consider it very effective, and I think Miklos Durai is very right in his actions because it shows what sort of serious fight has to be fought in order that individual and collective freedom rights can be ensured for the Hungarians living there, although the situation in Slovakia was always much better than the situation of the Romanian Magyarhood under Ceausescu.

[Szabo] There was, however, good news also this week, the possibility of a Hungarian-Polish-Czechoslovak summit, if I remember well, in Bratislava. This was an announcement made in Warsaw. How realistic is this anouncement?

[Horn] Hungary needs to seek close cooperation with the productive developed countries. This naturally does not exclude the possibility of building a system of relations constructed on a new basis both with Czechoslovakia and Poland, and such a summit can fit into this well.

But let me mention another thing: A very interesting concept recently cropped up in the Italian Senate, namely that a confederation of Italy, Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia should be established. This is not in conflict with the NATO membership or neutrality of the countries concerned, or with the fact that one of them belongs to CEMA and others to the European Economic Community, because this foursome would bring about the possibility of Central European cooperation, which could yield many positive results.

Stalemate Slows USSR-Hungary Trade Talks

*LD0503172590 Budapest MTI in English
1325 GMT 5 Mar 90*

[Text] Budapest, March 5, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Neither a trade agreement for 1990, nor a decision on how to settle the large outstanding Hungarian trade surplus, was reached during the weekend talks in Moscow between Hungarian and Soviet Trade Ministry officials.

A Hungarian trade delegation led by Minister of Trade Tamas Beck held talks in Moscow during the weekend with the Soviet Minister of Foreign Economy, Konstantin Katushev.

The Hungarian side urged the Soviets to settle the 800-million-rouble Hungarian trade surplus in dollars in 1990 or 1991.

The principal problem during the talks was what rouble-dollar rate to use.

The Hungarian delegation wanted a 50-per-cent higher conversion rate than what the Soviet party suggested, on the grounds that world market prices should be used.

No concrete figures were disclosed, however.

The parties agreed to pick up the talks on March 7—in anticipation of a final agreement by March 15—on ways and means of settling the Hungarian surplus and concluding a trade contract for 1990.

The Hungarian debt of 625 million roubles, which Hungary owes the Soviet Union in commercial credits borrowed since 1985, did not come up for discussion this time.

The Soviet party did not urge Hungary to pay back these credits before they mature, that is, between 1990 and 1993.

Trade Talks Held With GDR

*LD0503224790 Budapest MTI in English
1948 GMT 5 Mar 90*

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI)—The present volume and high level of goods exchange should be maintained in the future as well, also by taking advantage of the opportunities arising from the prospective united German market.

This was said at the discussions held between Tamas Beck, Hungarian minister of trade, president of the Hungarian section of the Hungarian-GDR Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee, and his East German partner, Guenter Halm, minister of light industry, during their Monday discussions.

It was emphasized at the talks that cooperation committees between the two countries should continue their operation also under the new conditions, by way of updating their working methods and eliminating formal elements of operation.

An agreement was reached for the delivery by March 31, of the 420 pieces of Ikarus buses, under the agreement signed for the first quarter of 1990.

Responding to a question by MTI, Mr Beck reported that trade turnover between Hungary and the GDR is expected to reach the 2,000 million rouble mark, also in the present year, and the GDR partners are doing their best to meet their delivery obligations, the Hungarian trade minister said.

EC Embassy To Open in Budapest by Fall

*LD0503162890 Budapest MTI in English
1215 GMT 5 Mar 90*

[Text] Budapest, March 5, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—An EC representation which will have the status of an embassy is scheduled to open in Budapest by the middle of the year—September at the very latest—a spokesman for the Hungarian Foreign Ministry disclosed apropos the Hungarian Foreign Minister's, Gyula Horn's, talks with Sir Leon Brittan, vice-president of the EC Commission in charge of finances and competition.

Mr Horn spoke in very appreciative terms of the EC help to Hungary, including the 1-billion-U.S.D bridging loan.

A Foreign Ministry official explained that Hungary's next aim is to conclude an association agreement with the EC which would, in many respects, exceed the trade and economic cooperation agreement signed in September, 1988, and extend to political, cultural and techno-scientific contacts and information exchange.

Such an association agreement could help institutionalize political relations between Hungary and the European communities.

It is expected that the G7 summit, to be called by the end of April, will include this issue on its agenda, and, if all goes well, specialists from the EC and Hungary can then sit down to work out the actual details of the agreement.

Hungary attaches extraordinary importance to an association agreement with the EC, for it believes that this could pave the way for Hungary's becoming an EC member.

Communique Outlines Roman Meeting With Military

AU0203222290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] The ROMPRES agency received the following communique from the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army:

On 1 March 1990, at the government headquarters, Mr. Petre Roman, Romanian prime minister, had another meeting with the committee members in order to substantially expound on the decisions made in the spirit of the dialogue held on 14 February 1990. The meeting was attended by Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, national defense minister, who said that the committee members are well-trained and highly valued cadres in the units they represent.

The prime minister said that certain problems within the area of the National Defense Ministry were solved. In this respect, Col. Gen. Stanculescu announced the following measures:

A group of generals and higher officers reactivated after 22 December 1989 will be retired as they are gradually replaced by younger and competent cadres. Certain generals will be kept in their current positions for a duration that is strictly determined by objective causes. It was emphasized that the ability and results of Colonel Vasile Ionel's activity, which was valued by the participants, led to his being kept in office as an element of stability and continuity. Part of those present at the dialogue will be included in the Army commission in charge of establishing the basic criteria for appointing Army commanders. The National Defense Ministry will not interpret legal provisions to the detriment of military personnel. As of 1 March 1990, the Political Education and Culture Directorate has been abolished. Proposals will be made to draw up laws regarding the statute of military personnel. The statute will legalize the professional rights and duties of the military citizen. The conditions for submitting and approving resignations will be an integral part of this statute. The military cadres that will represent the Army and its interests in the Senate will be the only ones empowered to argue these matters in its behalf. The system of army management and training will exclude the possibility of influence, infiltration, and integration by any political groups. As of 28 February 1990, Air Transport Squadron No. 50 has been dismantled.

The prime minister said that since the appointment of Col. Gen. Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, the Army is no longer concerned about clarifying the role he played during the revolution. The Army, in its totality, fraternized with the people and bore the brunt of the revolution.

The prime minister then said: Army General Nicolae Militaru was released from his position at his own request, without being placed on reserve. The prime minister considers the latter aspect as being of secondary importance but did not exclude the possibility of the general's retirement. The desirability of retiring the interior minister must be examined in the context of proof beyond doubt presented within a strictly legal framework. The preservation of a spirit of permanent dialogue aimed at ensuring a broad democratization of the Army prevents the smooth development of the military training process. Travel abroad can take place under similar conditions to those valid for any other Romanian citizen.

Regarding the aforementioned positions, the Committee declares the following:

The discussions proceeded in a spirit of open dialogue and full responsibility for the problems approached. However, we believe that in tackling the basic problems pertaining to practical ways and means for the Army's democratization, the prime minister adopted an ambiguous and noncommittal attitude and directed the dialogue toward theorizing on certain formal aspects that do not represent the immediate reality prevailing in the Army. The proposal concerning the retirement of Army General Nicolae Militaru, a proposal included in the appeal to the prime minister, was not implemented; his being maintained on active duty is suspect.

In this period of profound changes in the Army's structure and in the thinking habits of certain commanders, it is necessary to maintain a military man who is knowledgeable about the law and the actual situation in the Army in the position of defense minister.

After the meeting with the prime minister, the committee members discussed in a sober, principled, and democratic spirit, together with the national defense minister, the problems pertaining to the beginning and continuation of the process of Army democratization.

Council of Europe Delegation Meets Celac

AU0303172290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1133 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/3/1990—A delegation of the Council of Europe, headed by Joao de Deus Pinheiro, minister of foreign affairs of Portugal and chairman of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe arrived in Bucharest on Saturday morning. The delegation further includes Mrs Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council. At the time of our newscast the delegation has talks with the Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac.

Relationship With Council of Europe Viewed

AU0303194990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1837 GMT 5 Mar 90

["Visit by a Delegation of the Council of Europe"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/3/1990—3 March, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received Joao de Deus Pinheiro, president of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, minister of foreign affairs of Portugal, and Mrs Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe, who paid a visit to Romania.

Possibilities of Romania's cooperation with the Council of Europe as well as ways of preparing its adherence were examined during the talk.

The prime minister informed about the revolution in Romania, about the steps taken and efforts made by the Provisional National Unity Council and by the Romanian Government to establish democracy and for the observance of human rights and freedoms. He set forth the measures taken in the social sphere and the solutions to be carried through or stipulated for the country's reconstruction.

Satisfaction was expressed at the shows of sympathy of the Council of Europe and its member countries for the Romanian revolution and thanks were expressed for the emergency humanitarian relief granted to Romania.

It was assessed that the process of democratizing the country opened broad prospects for the development of Romania's relations with the Council of Europe and its member countries, and put the conditions in place for Romania to become a member of that European body.

The same day, Mr Sergiu Celac, Romania's foreign affairs minister, met with Mr Joao de Deus Pinheiro, president of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, minister of foreign affairs of Portugal, and Mrs Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe.

During the talks aspects were approached related to Romania's participation in the activities of the Council of Europe. In that context, Mr Sergiu Celac informed about the intention of the Romanian Government to advance, as soon as possible, after a consensus is reached within the Provisional National Unity Council, the official application for the beginning of the procedure of adherence to the Council of Europe.

A separate meeting of the foreign ministers of Romania and Portugal, accompanied by senior staff, took place to examine palpable measures of developing bilateral relations.

The delegation of the Council of Europe, led by Joao de Deus Pinheiro, president of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, foreign affairs minister of Portugal, left Bucharest on Saturday evening.

At the Otopeni Airport the delegation were seen off by Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, by other officials.

Setting Up Private Enterprises Encouraged

AU0103113590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1056 GMT 1 Mar 90

["Economy—Private Enterprises"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/3/1990—The publication of the decree-law regarding the organization and unfolding of economic activities on the basis of free initiative has had a special impact, stated Mr. Virgil Pascu, chairman of the Commission for Small Industry and Services, to one of ROMPRES editors. Til 10 March this year a whole set of instructions, regulations, procedures, mechanisms of applying the law and the system of authorizing each proposal will be worked out. Virtually in all sectors of economic and social activity forms of private organization can be initiated, from the production of consumer goods, stores and restaurants to private offices, tourism, transport or passengers organizations, construction and services in foreign trade by creating agencies and offices, intermediary enterprises and consulting services.

Some thousands of proposals for the foundation of private units have been registered so far.

Stimulative conditions are to be ensured to credit private units and set taxes which will be differentiated by sectors of activity. Backed by the ministry of national economy, the small producers will benefit by advantageous terms on getting raw materials, equipment, devices to be purchased or rented from the big industry.

The prices will be set freely, on the basis of the demand-offer relationship.

Mr. Virgil Pascu specified that the activity of the Commission is only a first stage in the process of passing from the Stalinist centralized model to the market economy, creating only a private sector in a centralized structure. The second stage will consist in the privatization of enterprises and the passage from the state property to the private one.

Need for Privatization of Economy Noted

AU0203102790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 2 Mar 90

["For a Diversification of Ownership—by Ioan Mihai Rosca"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—There is no doubt that privatization, as a means of economic growth, is needed in Romania in the current circumstances. How should this privatization be done, what forms should it be given so as not to turn it from an element of progress into an embarassing element are essential preoccupations of the Romanian economists and not only theirs. One of the proposals advanced is for the privatization of all sectors of the economy with no exception at all, hence of the whole national wealth, that would virtually lead to passing to private ownership the farm land, forest stock, mineral reserves, hydroelectric power resources, productive and non-productive capital assets, the scientific, cultural and learning assets, the productive and social infrastructure, etc. Such an outlook on the structure of ownership is too far from Romania's historical traditions and from contemporary realities in other countries. There is no country to have such a unilateral structure of ownership, nor is it fit.

The restructuring of ownership in Romania must ensure the diversification and optimum blending of multiple forms and types of ownership. Along with the daring promotion of private ownership, a first step has been taken, by apportioning land to peasants, allowing by law the setting up of enterprises with up to 320 employees—one has to bear in mind the diversification of the types of public ownership (state, cooperative, joint, etc.) apt to meet all categories of interests general, group and individual ones. The mechanism envisioned for privatization mainly pursues the transformation of the wealth of economic and social units into shares and their sale on the market, at the stock exchange or in auction. It is absolutely necessary, though, that the privatization should not lead to the denationalization of the basic sectors of the economy, of the sectors that make its resistance structure, of the economic branches and units of strategic importance.

The participation of foreign capital, accepted at a government level as a necessity both for the present and especially for the future, should be manifest especially in the achievement of the projects of enterprises updating, in the development of new productive capacities in the technologically peak branches. Sure, this does mean to channel the foreign investment in keeping with the country's interests. The foreign capital infusion in the national economy can be done in any domain as long as its purpose is the mutual benefit.

Transition to Market Economy Commission Set Up

AU0303174090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1519 GMT 3 Mar 90

["Commission on the Elaboration of the Economic Programme of the Romanian Government"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/3/1990—The Romanian Government decided on the creation of a governmental commission to work out an economic programme for transition to the market economy, including the practical bases of the mechanism adequate to it. Contributing to the activity of the commission, besides the appointed members, will be experts from economic units, research, design and higher-learning institutes, from ministries and other central bodies.

Academician Tudorel Postolache, Doctor in Economy, was appointed coordinator of that commission.

Revitalization of International Banking Relations

AU0603084490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0807 GMT 6 Mar 90

["Reactuation of International Banking Relations"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/3/1990—Mr. V. Voloseniuc, president of the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, showed that owing to the modification of the legislation, this bank can receive and grant currenty credits in connection with economic activities.

Romania is not a bankrupt country, but has considerable resources, he pointed out. It has no foreign debts, and also has to cash outstanding debts worth about three billion dollars. The bank works now to make the debtor states pay back their debts to Romania as soon as possible. Likewise, the Romanian banking system is concerned to regain its former place in the international finance world and Romania will reopen credit lines and promote relations with foreign banks and relevant institutions. Unlike other Eastern European countries, Romania is a member of the IMF, the World Bank and of GATT. Showing that now the relations with these institutions are slack, Mr. Voloseniuc said he believed that after the parliamentary elections and in step with the stabilization of the political life in Romania this cooperation would step up. He recalled that in order to develop the Romanian banking network worldwide the Romanian foreign trade bank have taken measures to consolidate joint banks and supports the initiatives regarding the creation of other joint banks and the branches of foreign banks in Bucharest. He mentioned that contacts had been made with several foreign banks. Important facilities have been already offered by West German "Hermes" export institute, the "Girozentrale" Austrian Bank and by Sweden. Mr. Voloseniuc wound up: "I am optimistic about this and if it is true that the forced repayment of the foreign debt cost the national economy and the Romanian people so much, the world sees you in a different light when you have no foreign debts."

Deputy Labor Minister on Unemployment

AU0603084590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0811 GMT 6 Mar 90

["51 Billion Lei in 1990"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/3/1990—The unemployed workforce in Romania currently stands at some 300,000 asking for employment, states Deputy Minister of Labour and Social Security Gheorghe Brehoi. The sectors reporting workforce shortage are especially mining, drilling-extraction as well as some specialties like welder, chamotte worker, etc.

At the same time, light industry and commerce have workforce in excess, Mr. Brehoi shows. Generally there is skilled and unskilled female workforce in excess.

Starting from a monthly average of "usual retirement" plus the 460,000 people likely to retire as a result of the recent decree- law, our assessment—Mr. Gheorghe Brehoi, adds, some 700,000 new jobs would result around august 31, the deadline of the decree.

He stressed in this respect the Romanian state's bigger money effort to pay the pensions in 1990, totalling 51 billion lei.

Education Minister Continues Palfalvi Reforms

AU0103132890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Feb 90 p 7

[Report on interview with Deputy Education Minister Lajos Demeny by Oszkar Fuzes in Sepsiszentgyorgy, Romania; date not given: "The Frightening Bogey of Separatism"]

[Excerpts] Few people today envy the position of Lajos Demeny, the Hungarian deputy of Romania's education minister: He is in charge of the most sensitive issue of the Hungarian minority in Romania—the independence of national minority schools in Romania. Our correspondent asked him about this and generally about the problems of the Hungarians in Romania.

[Fuzes] Mr. Demeny, what is the situation today concerning the separation of schools and the restoration of Hungarian education in Romania?

[Demeny] In short, something has started. Masses of students shifted from Romanian classes to Hungarian classes. There are towns in which 64 Hungarian classes were formed from students who had been studying in Romanian classes before. This is a general trend in Transylvania. Everything that my predecessor, Attila Palfalvi, began, continues today, and I am very sorry that he cannot continue his work, because this would have been right.

Circumstances have changed a little. In the drift of the revolution, the initiatives coming from below were implemented more easily. Then a terrible chauvinistic wave of the Vatra Romaneasca—Romanian Hearth—began. The separation of schools was discontinued. However, the demonstrations in the big cities in Transylvania on 10 February made the Romanians consider things too. At least some of them understood that anti-Hungarian incitement was damaging Romania's image. The government in Bucharest also reconsidered things, a government that so far has not taken a firm position against the Romanian extremists.

[Fuzes] What is the power of these extremists?

[Demeny] This is not important. In a situation like this, and we could see that in Bucharest when a group of people assaulted the government, what matters is who can fight with the fists. The Vatra Romaneasca is such a group. Probably branches of this extreme right and chauvinistic organization are formed in many places, an organization that is not fastidious about its goals and methods. This is also part of the Romanian reality today. I will tell you something: They also wanted to organize disturbances in Kolozsvar on 12 February. Seeing that their children go to better schools, the Romanian parents were glad to take them to the new schools, but the Vatra Romaneasca wanted to intimidate these parents. Well, I spoke with the organizer, and I clearly told him that we Hungarians organized a clear friendship meeting in Kolozsvar on 10 February. Now it is your turn, I said to him, to put an end to this infamy. If not, I will openly cause an uproar at the highest level, and I tell you that Romania will not benefit from this. [passage omitted]

[Fuzes] Frequent accusations are heard to the effect that the Hungarian national minority demands are weakening the process of Romanian democratization.

[Demeny] This is a stupid nationalist accusation. It is logical that we do not demand rights, as these rights are naturally ours. We demand the implementation of these rights, as well as the implementation of international obligations, like those of the Vienna follow-up meeting. The Romanian Government accepted these obligations on 7 January. The wider the human rights, the stronger the democracy in the country. It is precisely the denial of human rights that would weaken Romanian democracy. It is enough to violate the collective rights of the national minorities somewhere, and the curse is there to stay.

Living in Bucharest, I have often been visited by Romanian intellectuals. They are worried about their future and ask what they should do. I believe that there will be circles of people who admit the need for a dialogue, and they themselves will take a stand against extremism. We Hungarians living in Romania have no opportunity to use fists against fists. Our opportunity is to cooperate with the healthy and democratic Romanian forces and present our problems to Europe and to the world at large openly and without hesitation. The Hungarian nation can help us in this endeavor. [passage omitted]

[Fuzes] Is there not a danger that when we raise a certain issue at home in Hungary, retaliation would come against the Hungarians in Romania?

[Demeny] Look, there are many dangers. Obviously, such an organization like the Vatra Romaneasca makes great noises at any Hungarian manifestation. However, if Budapest raises its voice calmly by also convincing international public opinion, what can then happen? We are in Europe, are we not? [passage omitted]

Laszlo Tokes Defends NSF Government

AU0303170990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0933 GMT 3 Mar 90

["Pastor Tokes: The Romanian Government Is Not Chauvinistic"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/3/1990—"It is not true, it is a lie," stated Pastor Laszlo Tokes to the news agency

ROMPRES while referring to the manifesto disseminated in Los Angeles by the Protestant Church, which asserts that three million Magyars are exterminated and the sole solution is to annex Transylvania to Hungary.

The Romanian Government is neither chauvinistic nor Stalinist and it does not work to destroy the Magyar population, Laszlo Tokes further said. We have clearly stated that no Magyar or Magyar grouping and organization in Romania think of any frontier change. It is regrettable that such things happen as they do nothing but to set us at variance.

Speaking about the current real situation in Transylvania, Tokes said:

The disputes inherited from the past, which are several hundred years old, have been put in motion again, but now the effect of the dictatorial manipulation in the last few years to divide and subjugate is much more felt. I think that this terrible heritage is the main cause. On the other hand, nationalism is used by some of the reactionary circles, unknown indeed, because I do not know whether the former Securitate forces or reactionaries in Romania are behind this discord. At the same time these reactionary circles try to win merits by inciting nationalistic feelings, the same as many use anti-communism demagogically against the present leadership of the country. These are very dangerous tools in the reaction's hands and therefore I am also very concerned. But we must not exaggerate the nationalist-chauvinistic events. And this because in Transylvania there is not only Tirgu-Mures. Unfortunately we are attentive only to sensational news, but in Timisoara a Romanian-Magyar Friendship Union was set up, in Oradea an understanding has been reached on several matters, in Cluj a big friendship meeting was held. So, the situation must not be unilaterally viewed. True, there is the danger that the national problem may aggravate especially if the government and the political leadership of the country take no action in this respect, because we are witnesses of an ignorance of the national question. Immediately after the revolution promises were made, communiques were issued along this line, but ultimately nothing has been solved, none of these promises have been fulfilled. I hope that next week, when the parliament has this question on its agenda, big steps will be made toward solving it.

Referring to his forthcoming visit to the U.S.A., Pastor Tokes specified that the initiative came from the United States, and that he received many invitations from various organizations, civic ones, and from American officials, including the foreign minister. This trip, Tokes also said, is organized by my brother in America. He will coordinate the programme. I shall visit officials and religious communities. I intend to represent my country as a priest and as a member of the Provisional National Unity Council. Special emphasis will also be placed on the cause of the Magyar minority in Romania. But these two aspects go hand in hand.

Asked whether he is going to speak before the U.S. Congress, Tokes said: I have been invited to open one of the Congress' sessions by a prayer and to deliver a lecture before the United States Foreign Affairs Committee. That is why I wanted to come to Bucharest to prepare myself for this journey, to be well-informed about what has recently happened in our country's policy, and meet the country's leaders. In one word to prepare myself to generally represent our interests.

Referring to his impending meeting with President George Bush, the pastor said: I attach high significance to this visit as I did to Mr Baker's, because they encourage the revolutionary changes in our country, and my reception by them attests to such a stance as well as to their solidarity with our people who succeeded in toppling the dictatorship and started creating the democracy in Romania.

Asked whether he was proposed for the Nobel prize, Mr Laszlo Tokes said: Mrs Doina Cornea and I were proposed for it on several occasions. I know no details about this proposal. I think it is too great for me. I did not train for such honours and for a political career.

Tokes Warns Romanians Not To Copy Ceaucescu

LD0303142990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Zoltan Tamasy report from Bucharest]

[Text] Laszlo Tokes reminded members of the interim Romanian parliament of the importance of the assertion of collective and individual nationality rights. At the scheduled session of the interim National Unity Council, Tokes warned the Romanian leadership against falling into the error of Ceausescu's policy of assimilation.

After his speech, I spoke to Laszlo Tokes on the telephone. He said that a decision would probably be made next week on the setting up of the minority affairs ministry, which he, too, considers necessary. He himself will not then be in Romania, because he is shortly to travel to the United States, where he will meet church and also state leaders. As he said in his speech, he will endeavor to ask for support for Romania, but at the same time, he will also represent the Magyar national minority during his visit.

Returning to the parliamentary session: Although the initatives of the minorities will be debated later, there were two decisions on minority matters. They have coopted the representatives of Gypsies and Jews into the National Unity Council.

More Rallies Staged in Tirgu Mures, Alba Iulia

LD0403220590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] In Romania, the Magyar Democratic Association presidium has decided to compile a white book on the wrongs done to the Magyar minority. In addition, the organization made other decisions. Zoltan Tamasi reports from Bucharest:

[Tamasi] It was not possible to celebrate 15 March in a worthy manner during the Ceausescu era. Therefore, all of Magyardom in Romania welcomed with great joy the appeal made public by the Magyar Democratic Assocation in Romania [RMDSZ] during the weekend. In this, the RMDSZ presidium appeals to the county organizations to prepare the appropriate commemorations of the noted day of 1848.

In Tirgu Mures the Social Democratic Party held a rally. The party contains both Romanians and Magyars, and therefore it is not surprising that the rally appealed primarily for reconciliation.

Rallies were held in Alba Iulia, and other places not free from nationalist excesses, by followers of the organization Vatra Romaneasca, which consists of Romanians. As a reminder: Vatra demands that it should not be possible to pass decisions connected to Transylvania without its being asked; and in Magyar initiatives it sees mainly separatist endeavors.

Debates on Minorities' Issue Begin in Bucharest

AU0503172190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1533 GMT 5 Mar 90

["A Colloquim on the Question of Minorities"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/2/1990—With the debates on the question of national minorities in the offing—debates which are to be held in the plenum of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]—starting today the Parliament Palace venues the proceedings of a colloquim of that theme. [sentence as received] In the attendance are members of the organizations of national minorities, chairmen of county commissions on minorities, representatives of the PNUC specialized commissions, of political parties and of the public opinion, journalists.

List of Claims Advanced

AU0503195690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1923 GMT 5 Mar 90

["Political Life—Colloquium on National Minorities' Question"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/3/1990—A colloquium on the national minorities' question took place in the plenum of the Provisional National Unity Counil in Bucharest [PNUC], on Monday, in anticipation on the debate on that matter.

Members of the national minorities' organizations participated, as well as the chairmen of the county councils on minorities, representatives of the PNUC Specialty Commissions, of political parties, public opinion and journalists.

The debates started from the report of the PNUC commission on national minorities, that makes a critical analysis of the post-war policy in Romania on the national question and advances a long list of claims regarding equal rights for all citizens of Romania, education and culture in the languages of the minorities.

The document will be adanced for debate to the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council .

Party, Government Officials' Views on Iron Guard

AU2302203090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1940 GMT 23 Feb 90

["PNUC Meeting"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—The statement that Legionary Movement might have been behind the vandalism of 18 February drew a broad spectrum of responses.

Party and government representatives interviewed by ROMPRES editors do not rule out the possibility of fascist-type groups, but reject even the idea of a re-birth of the "Iron Guard."

Gheorghe Mesaros (National Democratic Party): I can hardly believe that the Iron Guard exists as such. Besides, I have no information to support this. We should not forget that the majority of its leaders are no longer alive.

Petre Roman, prime minister: As one can see, that is to say judging from the available information, the old leaders are taking action, that's all I can say.

Liviu Tocaciu (National Reconstruction Party): As long as there is no official information I can say nothing about this. The main thing is that under the law of political parties the Council explicitly forbids any fascist-type organization from being recognised. This is apparently the reason for which The Anti-Communist League could not register as a juristic person because it was rated a fascist party.

Gelu Voican Voiculescu, deputy prime minister: I believe there may be people who take action in the name of the Iron Guard. What happened was definitely its style that new people can take using any name.

Radu Filipescu (Republican Party): I cannot have clear evidence that there is no representative left, but the guard could not have the force to influence the events of 18 February. All that is being said about that organization reminds me of Ceausescu's statements against legionaries.

Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu (Association of Former Political Detainees): We are against all extremist demonstrations, we do not tolerate them whatever their form because both fascism and communism bred monsters.

Even if we might admit that remainders exist here and there, our opinion is that the core of the problem is the security's diversion.

Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence: I think there is an attempt to reactuate some right-wing forces in very secret ways but then also in open ways. Mr. Burlacu from the United States started sending to all major institutions reviews with the history of the Iron Guard and the leaflets he also sent speak, they too, of this.

Ion Diaconescu (the National Peasant Party): Those who were at some time in the past Iron Guard members are now, those who are left of them, actually old people. They cannot be taken for a force. Besides, they are disreputed internationally. The whole world is heading for democracy, freedom and social justice. The Iron Guard ideas are completely out of the flow of political values. So, even if they were not worn out by time, they still could not be viable. There still are people of the old guard that probably have some nostalgias but they do not account for any political force.

Traian Florea "the Timisoara Fraternity Trade Union): It is only about diverting public opinion's attention in order to protect the true culprits behind those bandits. We cannot even call them hooligans; those who do such things are just bandits.

Corneliu Manescu (independent, member of the Executive Bureau): In my opinion, the Iron Guard or something similar still exists. It is an extreme right-wing formation. Such formations appeared also in other countries and I think they must not be considered as completely scattered and dismantled. This assertion rests on some printed materials and also on something I noticed myself. When I was ambassador in Paris I saw more than once "long live the Iron Guard" written on walls in Paris. Anyway, action should be taken in such a way as to hold the extreme right-wing movements and the extremist movements generally in check.

Radu Cimpeanu (the National Liberal Party): I think there are a few survivors but I do not think the Iron Guard organization exists. There are some remains of this organization in the West, people aged about 80. There is Horia Sima in Madrid, but they are the remains of the Iron Guardist Movement. I do not think there is an attempt to revive the Iron Guard. As a matter of fact, that Mr Burlacu is a perfectly unknown person in the West. If there probably are some remains of the extreme right wing in Romania as well, they are in all countries. But it seems strange to me that those people still have an audience, the more so as I met some of them abroad. Very old people they are now. They have no more power to propagate an idea. I am very skeptical about all these things which I think have been brought out by other circles and not by Iron Guard circles.

Timisoara Militia, Securitate Practices Disclosed

AU2802190890 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Feb 90 p 2

[Constantin Vranceanu article: "To the Attention of Those Who Are Investigating in Timisoara"]

[Text] We suggest that investigation bodies in Timisoara, until the beginning of the trial "of the 22," should try to clarify other aspects of the subversive activity of those who have been arrested with a view to be tried for the offense of complicity to genocide. If not for any other reason, then because we should not generalize the "method" used in the trial "of the four" in Bucharest, when, as a result of the investigation and discussions in court, several points have been left unclarified. For the time being, we now offer the investigator a first clue: trading in people. This is what we are talking about: During the last decade, particularly after 1984, thousands and tens of thousands of Romanian citizens of German origin applied for permission to emigrate to the FRG. We all know that this mass emigration was "screened" according to the dictator's orders, so that only a limited number of citizens should receive the emigration documents every year. What we know less about is that on the basis of these people's emigration, many representatives of the Militia and Securitate in Timis County accumulated immense wealth. One of them is Capraru, a Militia collaborator, who goes on trial for corrupt practices and for facilitating the issuing of passports. While in the years 1984-1985 the "fee" taken for a passport was 8-12,000 West German marks, last year the "mafia" of the local Militia and Securitate raised the price to the nice sum of 22,000 marks. This of course for those who had well-to-do relatives in the FRG, because, no doubt, there was a difference in the range of fees...

In this context, we also suggest that investigation bodies pay particular attention to Militia Captain Viorel Bucur, the key man in many abuses in Timisoara. Although he is the last one on the list of 22 who is being investigated, we believe that he should be among the first five. He had a low rank but big connections, such as General Nuta, who fled by helicopter with the assistance of the famous Tudor Stanica and others. All these connections allowed him to carry out big business, about which we will later inform the public. The last question is: Where did the hard currency, obtained through trade in people, go, into which banks, and under whose name?

Struggle for Power of Various Forces Viewed

AU0503074590 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 25 Feb 90 pp 1,3

[Dragomir Horomnea article: "The Party of 'Those not Belonging to Any Party'"]

[Text] It is difficult to believe that in our new political picture there actually could be a party or organized movement that does not wish our country's well-being. As a matter of fact, all these groups, which emerged like mushrooms after a good rain, primarily proclaim their intention to do all they can to rebuild Romania on the basis of real prosperity, which our nation has lacked for too long.

However, we have to admit that the rationale of setting up one or another party is to attract members—that is, voters able to support its political platform. Although we often stumble along the twisted trail of our democracy in an effort to finally make our way toward the broad, just, and smooth road, the prospects of which kindle our hopes and courage, we realize that none of the parties are able to apply its program before reaching the threshold of power. Without the direct contribution of as many supporters as possible, this is certainly not possible today.

The reason for the multicolored propaganda heaped on us from all directions these days is clear. More and more appearances on the radio and television—sometimes confusing—the proliferation of newspapers of the most varied orientations, never-ending meetings, and demonstrations—an arsenal of constantly extending and improving ways and means—quote among their priority targets the struggle to conquer the "bridgeheads" and to consolidate the forces won in order to expand actions. It goes without saying that the most important requirement is human forces. As is obvious, they are won especially by the groups that prove greater power of persuasion, greater tenacity, and greater ability, sometimes even applying the teaching according to which the aim somehow justifies the use of certain means, maybe not always gallant ones.

Which of the parties seems to be the most powerful at this time? Toward which does the balance of votes tip? Is there any group whose members and supporters could be sure today that tomorrow they will have a decisive say? These are the most interesting questions to which, obviously, no one can give a precise answer. For the time being, there are speculations and even jokes on this subject. "The most powerful today is 'the party' of 'those outside any party', said a certain citizen recently; and indeed, one cannot explain in any other way the extraordinary attention paid to this significant section of the people by the newly set up parties." Indeed, the man seems to be right: He who will win this, as yet undecided, immense electoral potential will also take the baton in order to impose his own viewpoint.

Unfortunately, even if it is indecisive, "the party of those outside any party" is very easy to manipulate. Maybe for this very reason it oscillates before making its option. The lack of a proper political culture (itself an effect of the exclusive and uniform indoctrination practiced by the former regime!), the nonexistence of a program grounded on something precise, the constant accumulation of dissatisfaction, which has not yet been tended to by those called upon to seek solutions, the belief that politics means implicitly to pull down a structure at noon, which was installed in the morning, and by evening to resort to further demolition, causes those outside any party to meanwhile serve as a very important lever for indirect action by either some of the official protagonists, or by others. This is what we always note, in both the streets and, in fact, on television.

Many people ask themselves, for instance, how is it possible for hundreds upon hundreds of people to assault, day and night, Romanian Free Television, solely driven by a conviction generated by rumors (or by the mistrust in ourselves to which Ceausescu accustomed us?), namely that a certain event would not be broadcast live. Have these people nothing better to do, these people who call themselves "outside any party?" Who permits those people to leave their work during a full working day only to scream childishly into microphones, so that the country and the world may hear, "the people want the television?" Many of them introduce themselves as workers. Can this be true? If they really are workers in personnel records or paylists, then where is the workers' responsibility, which they flaunt, toward the revolution that has not ended yet?

There is something that makes us believe that the stability and stabilization of the new system is not ensured by choral claims asking for what we actually have, but through tangible work placed in the service of eliminating the economic and social standstill. Unfortunately, among the ranks of the tireless demonstrators, day and night, so far one cannot hear the necessary urging to wake up in order to start going about our daily chores. Those "outside parties," and not only they, continue to oscillate between dissatisfaction and hope, giving free scope only to passionate actions which they do not want to or cannot quit. Is it not very clear that the majority of people around us do not feel the genuine pulse of our country? Is it not clear that by refusing to tackle their own immediate needs—either by refusing to become acquainted with the whole because of some detail or other, or because of terribleness or for other reasons—the mass of indecisive people becomes a force which, more nilly than willy, promotes chaos? Let us "look" closer at "the platform" of the party of "those outside any party!"

NSF Vice President Mazilu Profiled

AU1502113990

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 24 January, under the headline "Our Readers Ask For the Demotion of Mr. Dumitru Mazilu," carries reproductions of various documents which prove that Dumitru Mazilu, former vice president of the National Salvation Front Council [who eventually resigned on 26 January] had been an employee of the Interior Ministry for seven years, with the function of "criminal investigator." Another document, signed by Securitate Captain Iulian Vlad, reproduced by the newspaper, proves that Dumitru Mazilu's army rank was "senior lieutenant."

The reproductions of all these documents are followed by Petre Mihai Bacanu's 700-word article entitled "The

Long detention of Mr. Mazilu," in which the author refers to Mazilu's "quick detention of 12 hours...and a quick liberation," saying that "thus, at 0100, the couple Manea and Radulescu burst into Mr. Mazilu's apartment and broke the door with a crowbar. Manea believes that Mr. Mazilu's son was the connection between those who were demonstrating at the "Intercontinental Hotel" and Mr. Mazilu's house, believing that the masses might direct Mr. Mazilu to a leading function (as it indeed happened)."

The same ROMANIA LIBERA, on the same page 3, also carries a 350-word Dragomir Horomnea report on public opinion's trust in the National Salvation Front. Out of 100 people whose opinions had been asked, "90 expressed complete confidence in Mr. Ion Iliescu and Mr. Petre Roman. On the other hand, 76 people do not trust Mr. Dumitru Mazilu, and four have their doubts about Mr. Silviu Brucan."

PNUC Minzatu on Mass Media Disinformation

AU2202164490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] In a statement to the ROMPRES agency, Mr. Ion Minzatu, vice president of the Provisional National Unity County [PNUC] [and president of the Republican Party], made a statement in connection with the relationship between the PNUC and the mass information media. In his statement, Mr. Minzatu said that, in spite of the fact that its members have diverse affiliations, the Executive Bureau as a whole, including himself, and particularly the president, have nothing to hide. We want our press, radio, television, and press agencies to know the whole truth about the real problems facing the Executive Bureau, and the way in which problems are solved together with the government. This contribution will help to stabilize the political situation and solve the particular problems facing the country's citizens in all spheres of activity.

Mr. Ion Minzatu further said: However, I find it unpleasant to note that, through sheer speculation, some press articles lie and distort the truth. There is no doubt that the entire world press is free to write what it wants. It is entitled to make speculations, report on scandals, or examine basic problems pertaining to our national political and economic situation. I would particularly like to refer to the latter aspect. As I pointed out, the PNUC Executive Bureau has turned into a body striving to contribute to solving the great problems facing each individual citizen and the whole country, said PNUC Vice President Mr. Professor Ion Minzatu in his statement to ROMPRES. However, it is unpleasant to ascertain that certain central newspapers do not turn to us to learn the truth, straight from the horse's mouth, from those who shoulder large responsibilities, but prefer instead to go by appearances, speculate, and draw conclusions that can lead to poisoning of the political situation in the country.

Mr. Minzatu also said that, regardless of who turns to the PNUC for information—ROMPRES or the central and local newspapers—they will be told only the truth; no secret will be held about any hardship or difficult problem facing us, in accordance with the democratic spirit and full sincerity prevailing in our work.

As one can see, in spite of opposition, all actions of the PNUC and its Executive Bureau were broadcast by our television to the whole nation, so that everybody could see their true course. It follows then that—since the most insignificant confrontation within the PNUC and its Executive Bureau was broadcast live to the public—from now on, all press organs that turn to us directly will be told the truth, which they can further relay to the whole country and abroad.

We believe that this is not the right time for political maneuvering and for cheap solutions to promote one's various goals. All of us who joined the PNUC and its Executive Bureau have decided to forget, for the time being, our political disputes, in order to make a real contribution to relieving our people's situation. At this time, our sole political credo probably is to ensure the country's progress, to solve its problems, and primarily to halt violence and prevent any kind of destabilization.

Warning Against 'Illegal Funds' for Elections

AU1702214590 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 11 Feb 90 p 1

[ADEVARUL director Darie Novaceanu article: "A Modest Proposal to the 'Mini-Parliament'"]

[Text] The honesty of the parties, which declared during the Friday [9 February] parliamentary session, that they do not desire state subsidies for the election campaign is welcome, but inoperative: Every election campaign needs money. It is very important that this money exists, that it is of the same color, and that it does not come by devious ways, thus violating the country's laws. Suspicion that such illicit funds are beginning to operate cause disquiet.

In this case, there is only one solution, and I am surprised that the parties with historic experience have not mentioned it: the value in lei of the seat won in the elections. By not being included in the draft electoral law, everybody overlooked it—maybe also because the new draft Constitution is delayed. This draft is to stipulate the number of chamber or bicameral seats. The "Mini-Parliament" that suffered disaster on television Friday night will establish this unique value and it will also set the total sum—the famous millions—which the country, no matter how poor, has to make available. These millions cannot be a philanthropic gesture. Engaged in winning seats, apart from their own funds, the parties are to open credits which they will cover in accordance with the number of seats won in the elections.

The parties which will take little money and will win many seats will score benefit, and vice versa, the parties which are unable to cover the value in lei of the seats won with the given credits will be indebted.

Under different conditions, the financing of the election campaign means throwing the money out of the window. For, let us be realistic, those 45 plus N parties cannot ask for the very same subsidy. We are poor, but we do not want to make anyone rich.

Only this game will prove that the newly set up political formations are not simply committees incorporating 251 members or are a group of people who lack grounding, have been appointed by other people, lack responsibility, and are made to do useless things.

Parliamentary seats have a symbolic and political value, but their equalization in lei has to be accepted as a democratic game. A game played in numerous parts of the planet with positive results.

ROMANIA LIBERA on Party Subsidization

AU2102195490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1658 GMT 21 Feb 90

["The Controversial Subsidizing of the Parties"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/2/1990—The former National Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] established that the political parties be given funds of 1-3 million lei each to handle expenses connected with the preparations for elections.

NSF representatives objected to that decision in the first meeting of the recently created "mini-parliament," saying that the nation would be thus deprived of values that could be used in the remaking of the country's economy and the raising of the living standard. It was even suggested that the parties be not given any material assistance and the NSF announced it renounced any financial support from the state budget, suggesting to the other parties to make do with the fees.

The impression has thus been created, daily ROMANIA LIBERA notes, that the granting of funds to the political parties would mean a great favour done to those political formations to the detriment of other, far more urgent needs of the country. The daily adds: "To subsidize the parties is not an act of generosity. It helps the normal unfolding of a democratic, multiparty process..." It could be compared with an investment, with an original institute of research into matters of politics, economics and sociology having the parties for its departments, with every one of them committing itself to analyze the country's situation on its own and to advance solutions. The parties that will come to convince most of the electorate that their program is the most realistic and efficient, ROMANIA LIBERA adds, will win the majority of votes and will undertake, by governing, the carrying through of that program.

The political events of these last few days as well as opinions reproduced by mass media have brought to the fore again, among other things, the question of giving financial assistance out of the state budget to the very numerous political parties set up in the last two months. The stand, according to which the political parties should not be subsidized from the state budget, prevails now in posters circulated in enterprises, letters from readers, opinions stated on TV by representatives of various social groups. The same standpoint was expressed most firmly by the Jiu Valley miners on February 19 during their discussion with the Executive Bureau of the National Unity Provisional Council. The miners demanded the parties to "take care of themselves" leaving the state budget to other uses.

Apolitical Public Poll Office 'Dacia' Set Up

AU2802112190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0837 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 28/2/1990—The news agency "ROMPRES" informs that the public poll office "Dacia" was set up, the first of the kind in Romania. It is a non-governmental and non-political body which aims at informing the Romanian public opinion about the temporary, zonal and conjuctural situation in matters of national interest.

"Dacia" has its own periodical which will publish the results of the polls, various opinions and advertisements on any domain of national public interest.

'Inhumane Demographic Policy' Assailed

AU2802112390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0834 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Proportions of Mystification—Inhumane Demographic Policy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/2/1990—The decree endorsed in 1966 against abortion as well as the other mother-and-child repressive and aggressive measures meant real terror for women in Romania in the last 23 years. As many as 591 women died in 1988 of pregnancy related causes, on delivery and during confinement period, including 370 because of illegal abortion. All along the period of dictatorship between 12,000 and 14,000 women, young most of them, died of such causes, leaving orphans behind, the total number of which is now 200,000. That demographic "policy" was matched by the so-called scientific nutrition, the discrimination of patients, the shortage of medicines, which dramatically increased the infant death rate. Encroaching upon the couples' fundamental right to decide by themselves on the number of wanted children and on the interval between deliveries, the dictatorial policy deprived the population of the elementary means of information, medical services and associated social services that should have taken care not only of averting unwanted pregnancy, but also of eliminating complete or partial involuntary sterility.

Just the same, Ceausescu's policy curbed demographic research and contacts with other countries of the world for the assessment of the population questions. The national commission on demography, that did demographic research, was completely paralyzed, and CEDOR /International Center of Demography/ mostly financed by the United Nations, was brutally dismantled, so that there is no homologated forecast in Romania now in population-related matters.

Decree-Law Passed on Protection of State Bodies

AU2802122890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1129 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/2/1990—A decree-law was released in Bucharest stipulating measures for the protection of state bodies, public institutions, political parties and groupings' headquarters, public peace and the rule of law.

Previously debated at a meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council, the decree is meant to prevent any act of violence which hinders the country's advance toward democracy, and to establish a climate of certainty and free democratic expression.

According to the law, the Ministry of the Interior shall work to consolidate watch guard and take measures to keep order at the headquarters of state bodies, public institutes, political parties and groupings as well as of the public organizations of ethnic minorities with a view to providing normal conditions for a smooth run of their activities, to hamper any manifestation of violence which jepopardizes the security of edifices and their assets as well as the physical integrity of persons. Likewise, it shall take all the appropriate measures to stop the manifestations of violence in public places.

The Ministry of National Defence shall cooperate, as part of its legal attributions, with the Ministry of the Interior, and shall back its actions.

The decree stipulates that the person who breaks into the headquarters of central and local state bodies, of public institutes, of political parties and groupings, disturbing the smooth run of their activity, shall be given a prison term from six months to three years, while the person who commits such an act is armed and does it at night through violence and burglary shall be given a two-to-seven prison term.

The law also punishes those who destroy, damage or make the headquarters of central and local state bodies, other public institutes, of political parties and groupings or their assets unuseful, as well as those who commit offences against one of their representative's life, body integrity, health or freedom.

The decree, signed by the president of the Provisional National Unity Council, Ion Iliescu, stipulates that attempted offences are also punished, while the infractions are urgently investigated and judged according to the procedure for grave crimes.

Call for Impartial, Professional Broadcasts

AU2802141290 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 13 Feb 90 p 3

[Magdalena Boiangiu article: "Diction and Sincerity"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] As a matter of fact, we are talking here about the free and independent character of the television, namely, that it should be free. The television announced this very thing in the first hours of the revolution, when bullets were flying in the streets and the former leaders of Romania were hitchhiking on the highways around Bucharest. Indeed, it had been free—or more accurately—the team on duty on that day of 22 December 1989 freed itself from the dictatorship, with its imposed limits, restrictions, and censorship, and totally placed itself in the service of the new power. [passage omitted]

Tensions began to appear later, when truth acquired various nuances, when personal opinions examining reality from a different angle than the collective one began to appear, and when life began to demand its rights, thus removing schematic approaches, which implied that only those who think like us are entitled to speak. We do not know to what extent the broadcast information has been explicitly manipulated. There is however a reflex of showing what must be shown rather than what actually happens. [passage omitted]

Information is being presented superficially, in a curtailed manner. Last Sunday, we were shown the demonstrations in Tirgu Mures in favor and against the separations of Romanian and Hungarian language schools. Nobody presented the arguments of either side. The relevant ministry withdrew its decree in this respect. Why? Nobody told us the reason. The Cavnic miners are voicing their discontent with the minister. The Rodna miners are reading a paper supporting the minister. What has the minister had to say about all this? We do not know. When somebody tries to present the position of two sides involved in a given conflict, the journalist seems to be as ignorant of the facts at the end of the broadcast as he was at the beginning. [passage omitted]

The television does not need rather sincere news readers or youthful and good looking broadcasters, but rather people who can select, present, and comment on the news in such a way as to ensure that the viewers can form their own independent views. [passage omitted]

Ecological Group Suggests Election Postponement

AU2802125790 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Feb 90 p 3

["Open letter to the Provisional National Unity Council" from Toma Gheorghe Maiorescu, president of the

Ecological Movement of Romania, on behalf of the movement's Coordinating Committee]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Ecological Movement of Romania [EMR] is against demagogy and requests that civilized relations, others' opinions, culture, and parliamentary ethics should always be respected.

We would like to recall certain proposals that have been voiced within the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] and complete them with some other suggestions:

1. The PNUC's political platform has its roots in the objectives of the program announced on 22 December 1989.
2. The PNUC ensures the functioning of legislative power in order to create the necessary climate to ensure social, economic, and political stability until the elections. The PNUC has the right to issue decree-laws only if at least two-thirds of its members vote in favor of them.
3. The PNUC endorses and ensures the continuity of the government's operation which answers to the Council for the activity of its ministries.
4. The Council has a bureau which includes a president, five vice presidents and the presidents of the specialized commissions which have been restructured by including experts from various political parties.
5. The president and vice presidents will be elected by the Council from among the personalities who represent a wide range of various political currents.
6. In order to ensure the country's stability, we believe that it is necessary to implement the consensus by ensuring the following:
a) a proportioned balance of forces in the Executive Bureau of the legislative power.
b) the presence of the major political currents of the country directly in the government and in the state bodies of international representation.
c) cleansing the legal system.
d) postponement of elections until the end of September, the minimum period necessary for building a democratic awareness.
7. The EMR suggests that the PNUC, through its financial commission, should inform in maximum 30 days about its monetary, currency, gold, and valuables reserves. Likewise, the PNUC should be aware of the way in which the funds and values of the former Romanian Communist Party, General Union of the Romanian Trade Unions, and of the Union of Communist Youth are included in the budget and are being used.
8. The EMR suggests that in all cases of restructuring and completion at the government level and within the commissions of experts and of local leadership, an adequate number of women should be included, and they should represent the majority in the field of light industry, agriculture, commerce, education, health care, culture, and in the entire social life.
9. The meetings will be held weekly and the PNUC should ensure parliamentary immunity to its members. The EMR requests the creation of a validation commission of the PNUC members, which should authorize their appointment in the Council. [passage omitted]

Cultural Monthly Magazine DUNAREA Issued

AU0503105590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/3/1990—The first issue of the cultural monthly "DUNAREA" ["THE DANUBE"] (new series) has been put out in Braila. "DUNAREA"—in which Eminescu's masterpiece "Luceafarul" ["The Evening Star"] had been published for the first time, on 25 July 1883— was hosted for a time by the weekly "LUCEAFARUL" in its middle pages. Though they benefited by the support of all the men of culture in Braila, the eleven issues of the monthly were placed at the margin of literary creation and in the last years no issue was brought out any longer.

The honorary director of "DUNAREA" is prose writer Fanus Neagu.

* Responsibility of Securitate Officers Viewed

90EB0286C Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Petre Mihai Bacanu article]

[Text] Young Luminita Voina-Raut called our attention to an untranslatable word: SECURITATE. Freely scanning the foreign press, not scared, shadowed, or suspected by anyone, Romanians are discovering with amazement that the word "Securitate," whose meaning was irretrievably distorted by our late unlamented regime, has no translatable equivalent in the world. FRANCE SOIR of 30 December 1989, referring to wounded terrorists—securitate agents lying in a Sibiu hospital who were trying in vain to appear innocent before some French reporters—were described by the latter as "les membres de la SECURITATE qui disaient: 'Nous, tirer sur la foule? Jamais!'" (in other words, securitate members who where saying: We, fire into the crowd? Never!) The French word "securite" would of course have conveyed the idea of protection or defense, rather than the meaning that we can still read in the Romanian Language Dictionary: "The totality of state bodies whose task is to defend the social and state order by pursuing, identifying, and eliminating hostile plots and actions directed against the socialist system," an incorrect meaning in this case, in view of the fact that we all know what the real meaning of SECURITATE was.

Spain's EL PAIS of 25 December 1989 also demurred about translating the word. One title read: "Los Agentes de la SECURITATE Leales a Ceausescu se Niegan a Entregar las Armas y Rendirse de Inmediato" (Securitate Agents Loyal to Ceausescu Refuse To Lay Down Their Arms and Surrender Immediately). The Spanish also added that the most fanatical agents were either "los terroristas" (terrorists), or "los sicarios," which a

Spanish dictionary defines as "asesinos pagados," meaning paid assassins. Our proposal is that, just as the names of newspapers and institutions were changed—in the hope that by changing the form something positive would happen to the contents—the same should be done to the undesirable word SECURITATE.

And now that we all know what securitate means, let's see what the situation is in... the field.

We recently had a talk with the ministers of national defense. Among other issues discussed were that of the securitate, an issue that Romanians are increasingly bringing up. We were assured that all securitate members had been retired in Bucharest, Timisoara, Cluj, and Sibiu. Until proof to the contrary, we choose to believe this statement.

Let us then review a few structures of the old Department of Security and of the new services.

One of the controversial figures of Securitate was Gen. Aurelian Mortoiu, the head of the counterespionage directorate, a body that in fact gathered information for the benefit of certain persons, rather than the people. Thus, a small clan was formed on the pattern of the big clan, consisting of Gen. Mortoiu and Col. Filip Teodorescu. Informed sources say that the latter should be put on trial. Extensions of the Mortoiu-Teodorescu clan were former Col. Traian Pascu and Maj. Marius Burdusel. Col. Pascu has been retired, so he doesn't have to account to anyone. And now Mr. Traian Pascu can enjoy his substantial wealth, which he could have obtained only from some baptism or wedding, or won at the lottery; certainly not from the time when he was searching the hotels for spies. In any event, on 21 December, although he was sick (for the benefit of the office), he went to the Bucuresti hotel, where there was something he had to "retrieve."

There is no reason to believe that the "bag" system was not practiced inside the counterespionage directorate. Presents destined for Iulian Vlad and Tudor Postelnicu passed through Gen. Mortoiu. What do you think another Mortoiu deputy, Col. Emil Radulescu who recently returned from Timisoara, was doing during the revolution, since we don't believe he was idle? He was busy arresting revolutionaries. During the night of 21-22 December, Mortoiu (although his counterespionage service had nothing to do with domestic matters) organized teams of officers tasked with arresting undesirables. Four teams of three to five securitate officers each were formed. One of the undesirables was the "Philosopher" (we managed to find out that this was Gabriel Andreescu). We will remind the readers that all the dissidents had a code name.

As we said, this service is being reorganized. One good thing is that out of 15 "counterespionage" services formerly in existence, only six remain. We realize that every state must have a counterespionage service, staffed by untainted officers, but why doesn't, for example, Maj. Gabriel Stanescu, who gathered information about American diplomats who also seems to be related to Iulian Vlad, find another job? Also, Lt. Col. Stan Ilie, Capt. Costica Paun, Capt. Nicolae Dumitrescu, and Lt. Col. Sorin Nicoara were promoted out of Gabriel Stanescu's service straight into the new counterespionage structures. Who helped them get there?

Another one who found a haven in the new counterespionage service is Lt. Col. Doru Popovici, son of the former prosecutor general. Until very recently, Doru Popovici was the head of the notorious Directorate of Penal Investigations.

Few people know Maj. Gen. Vasile Apostol, the head of the Cadres Directorate, the cutting edge of the securitate leadership department. (Everyone used to freeze at the sound of the word "cadres"—as in "the cadres that decide everything"). And, so that no one should be struck by heart failure, the directorate was called the "Independent Service of Legal Assistance." Independent perhaps, certainly all-powerful. Once an officer was backed by the cadres, nothing else mattered. So the securitate had its independent services, too. So who do you think has now succeeded Gen. Apostol? Col. Maria Petrescu, originally from Dimbovita and brought to the Interior Ministry by none other than—you guessed it—Postelnicu. We had almost forgotten about promoting women...

And, while in the throes of the reorganization of the counterespionage section, we would like to add that such a section need no longer be secret. We should be apprised of their activities, and they should even hang their shingle on the gate, as is done throughout the world. A counterespionage service should gather information needed by the state power, not information for its own sake. The state unquestionably needs the necessary data to exercise its prerogatives, but we should also know what those in charge of it are up to. A counterespionage service should be requested to supply information and should provide information. Nothing more.

Romania is now joining the ranks of civilized countries. The securitate, as we know, did a lot of damage, but not all those who worked for it should be viewed in the same manner. Not everyone participated in the genocide, not everyone grabbed a gun, not everyone harassed people. But so far we haven't found even a few of the guilty ones. If we are after the truth, why is it that so far not one securitate officer has come forth to testify about who Postelnicu hit on the night of 21-22 December (and not only then), what happened on that night, what orders were issued by others, etc. And, most importantly, who did the shooting? Some securitate officers were very close to the events. And the officers who were in charge of the hotels were in the best position to know which rooms had been occupied by terrorists and the location of electronically operated machineguns. From whom can we learn who shot if not from the securitate officers? All the events of that entire nightmare can be reconstructed. Otherwise, all securitate personnel will remain under suspicion, which is not fair. The degree of responsibility and guilt must be determined for each individual case. And those who had no part in any crimes or torture can be employed in the new organization. They will no longer enjoy the same famous privileges, but they will be able to lead a decent life in a new society. But the truth must be found out. And most particularly, from whom can we learn faster and more thoroughly if not from the securitate? Not even the securitate members should fear having information damaging to others. Are those now under arrest—about whom their families know nothing—truly the most guilty?

That is why we must know the whole truth.

P.S. A last minute item: Lt. Gen. Nicolae Plesita, one of Ceausescu's most trusted men and a member of the revision committee at the latest RCP [Romanian Communist Party] congress, is still the head of the securitate training school of Gradistea (Giurgiu).

Albanian Students Submit New Demands

LD0503152490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 5 March (TANJUG)—Instead of attending classes, several thousand students of Albanian nationality staged a new meeting today and put forward additional demands. Apart from the familiar ones—the lifting of the state of emergency, stopping the political trials, the withdrawal of the joint militia unit—they are also demanding that the proposal for declaring 28 March a national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Serbia not be adopted and that Pristina University be given its original name, University of Kosovo.

All this is set against the deadline of 13 March, when, if their demands are not met, they will continue to boycott lectures and take "other actions." Similar demands were also in evidence in the Municipal Assembly of Urosevac, where about 1,000 workers of the Tubes Factory, as it is known, have for nearly six weeks refused to work. However, learning that their dismissals have been prepared, they are now protesting this measure.

More Political Meetings in Kosovo

LD0503210590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—[passage omitted] Despite apparent peace and lack of excessive behavior, today was also used for promotions and gatherings of various political tendencies. These have become a more or less regular feature of life in Kovovo. A committee to found a society of independent journalists made itself heard again today. Although when it first came on the scene it denied any political ambitions and pledged to deal with journalists' professional problems alone, the committee's subsequent statements were clearly of a political nature. In its statement today the committee outlines its stands on the planned division of student halls of residence on a "national basis" and "sharply condemns" the Serbian Presidency's standpoint that students attending lectures in Serbo-Croat should be moved to a separate hall of residence. Neither this nor any other "committee" have tried to understand why these students had asked for separate accommodation.

As was to be expected, the first step by "a group of Albanian women-intellectuals" soon turned into an organized alternative form of assemlby. According to reports today, a "Women's Association" was set up within the "Democratic Alliance of Kosovo." Ljuljeta Pulja-Beciri, a university lecturer, was elected president of the Association. The members of this newly founded association have indicated their decision to leave the Socialist Alliance, that is, the Conference for the Social Activity of Women since the organization "no longer promotes the genuine interests of this category of the population."

Update on Situation in Kosovo Schools

LD0503162690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—In most of the primary and secondary schools in Kosovo, lectures began normally this morning. In Lipljan, however, only 100 out of 1,100 students of Albanian nationality showed up in their schools. Education in Serbo-Croat is being carried out in all schools except in the Vladimir Ilic Lenin school in Pristina, where about 50 parents demanded the implementation of measures for the protection of their children from provocations and assaults. The Municipal Executive Council is discussing this case.

At Pristina University only the students of the Serbo-Croat language section are attending lectures. Albanian students were not attending their lectures today; about 1,000 of them assembled in the grand hall at the Faculty of Technology, demanding that their ultimatums be met.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly Meetings Noted

Office Terms Extended

LD0103224390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Sarajevo, March 1 (TANJUG)—The Government of Yugoslavia's Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today upheld a proposal to extend the terms of office in the local assembling bodies until the end of this year.

The final decision on the motion—aimed at enabling the formation of political parties in the republic and preparing parliamentary elections at which they will also take part—will be reached at the session of the republican assembly on March 5.

A similar decision has been made by the Macedonian Assembly. The federal government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic believes it is justified to extend the duration of office of the federal parliament deputies for two months, i.e., until July 15. This would speed up the passing of amendments to the 1974 Constitution, including those on legal conditions for introducing political pluralism in Yugoslavia.

Elections Postponed

LD0503191290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly today adopted constitutional and legal documents that allow for the prolongation of the mandate of assemblies of sociopolitical communities and their officials until the end of the year. It also endorsed a decision whereby the election activities begun at the end of last month are to be temporarily suspended. [passage omitted noting that this will help opposition parties to consolidate before the elections and welcoming the decision to postpone elections for assemblies of sociopolitical communities]

Statement Adopted

LD0503212890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1835 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's joint session of all three chambers, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina unanimously adopted the document-statement in which it energetically denounces all tendencies to retailor the SFRY, all those who propagate hatred among our nations, sinister ideas, and forces defeated in the past. "We denounce the negation and breakup of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is founded in the decisions of both the regional Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ] and the national AVNOJ; we condemn the spreading of ill-feelings among Muslims, Serbs, Croats and all other nations and nationalities who have been living here for centuries," the statement stresses.

The peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina, it further states, are angered by occurences of, and with the champions of militant pro-Ustasha and pro-Chetnik ideas, which are present in some newly formed, in essence, pseudo-democratic organizations. The latest instance is to be found in the program-platform of the Croat Democratic Community, which openly raises the issue of the borders of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It denies the existence of the Muslim nationality, insults Serbs and all citizens of Bosnia- Hercegovina, and damages the concrete historical interests of the Croat people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in the entire country. This best indicates how dangerous, even fatal, are games with a national quarrel at stake. It shows that there is no rational alternative to the path of nurturing, developing, and enriching the historical experience of joint life, the statement of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina notes.

The delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina point out that the progress of democracy and the successful implementation of the program of social reforms is only possible in an atmosphere of joint life and creativity, in enriching the AVNOJ's idea of federation, and in a community of free and equal nations.

Therefore, the statement of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted today cautions everyone attempting to divide and lay claims on the nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia and to assault most blatantly its sovereignty and integrity that we shall defend with all the political means and instruments of a state governed by the rule of law what we won in the joint struggle for the freedom, unity, and equality of our nations, for Bosnia-Hercegovina as an equal community within a democratic, federal, and socialist Yugoslavia.

Slovene President Meets Macedonian Delegation

LD0103202890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2003 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, held talks this evening with a delegation of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, which is on an official two-day visit to Slovenia. Macedonian Assembly President Vulnet Starova is heading the delegation. The talks focused on the issue of the Macedonian minorities and the fund for the development of insufficiently developed parts of the country, since all other issues regarding mutual economic cooperation and topical political problems were already thoroughly discussed during today's several-hours-long talks with a Slovene Assembly delegation.

Regarding Vulnet Starova's justified warnings about the very difficult position of the Macedonian minorities in neighboring countries, Janez Stanovnik underscored the similarity of the not-as-difficult position of the Slovene minority. As a specific result of the talks, Janez Stanovnik proposed linking the centers of the two republics for researching the status of minorities on a joint research project. Regarding the fund for the undeveloped, Stanovnik revealed that he is considering ways of redirecting individual contributions to the fund. He stressed that its existence is by no means jeopardized.

The delegation of the Macedonian Assembly will visit Lendava tomorrow, where it will familiarize itself with experiences and topical issues of bilingualism in that area which borders Hungary.

Reportage on Parties' Activities in Macedonia

League for Democracy Founded

LD0802113890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1912 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Skopje, February 7 (TANJUG)—A new political party, the League for Democracy, will be founded in Yugoslavia's southern republic of Macedonia, as announced in the republican capital of Skopje today.

The new party does not intend to work to topple the existing political system but, instead, to renew it from within, as Skopje law school professor Dr Djordji Marjanovic, a member of the group which has initiated the founding of the League for Democracy, told reporters today.

The League for Democracy will not take a "revanchist" attitude towards the League of Communists, the governing party, but will struggle against its political monopoly which is over forty years old, as Marjanovic said.

He set out that 350 persons have already signed up to join the new party, whose founding assembly will be held on February 11.

Over 70 parties, movements, alliances and federations, of which only a few Yugoslav-oriented, have been founded in Yugoslavia in the past year. The overwhelming majority of the newly founded parties and movements have national programmes and advocate national interests, with some openly propagating national-chauvinism and calling for the retailoring of the republican frontiers within Yugoslavia or even for secession from Yugoslavia.

The largest number of those parties, about two-thirds, have been founded in Slovenia and Croatia. New parties have of late, however, been emerging in other parts of the country too. Five new parties have, for instance, been founded in Macedonia alone.

Platform Adopted

LD1102163590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Skopje, 11 Feb (TANJUG)—A new political party—the League for Democracy—was founded in Skopje today.

As is stressed in the adopted documents, the League for Democracy is the political party of all those who are dissatisfied with the situation in the country, the poor organization of the state organism, and the catastrophic results of almost half a century of League of Communists political monopoly. The League for Democracy will campaign for Yugoslavia to be built and developed as a law-governed federal state—an equal community of all nations and national minorities, and of each citizen individually. The League for Democracy will advocate a pluralist approach in changing the country's constitution and the republican constitution.

Action Movement Formed

LD2502221290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Skopje, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Accompanied by the singing of the Macedonian national anthem, "The Macedonian Nation," the founding assembly began in Skopje today of MAAK, the Movement for All-Macedonian Action, which is being attended by more than 600 members and supporters, mainly top names among Macedonian intellectuals. The program declaration of this political party was outlined by the prominent Macedonian writer and academic Professor Gane Todorovski. He stressed that the MAAK program advocates the immediate and accelerated development of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, better use of its human and natural wealth, and the free excchange of ideas, know-how and experience. The movement advocates a law-governed, democratic state, with a multiparty system, and opposes all forms of discrimination and pressure. [passage omitted: MAAK will advocate protecting the national, religious, and cultural rights of Macedonians in neighboring countries]

Social Democratic Party Program

LD2802150190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Skopje, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—The Social Democratic Party of Macedonia today published a draft of its program statement and put forward in 21 points the goals it is going to fight for.

Proceeding from its view of the world as an arena for cultural competition between peoples, Macedonian social democrats stand for what is in the interest of the majority of Macedonian citizens: The setting up of a law-governed state and free competition between different democratic options; free democratic and direct elections; a parliamentary system in both Macedonia and Yugoslavia; and the division of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial. This party also advocates the abolition of political police and the transformation of the state security service into an efficient instrument for fighting terrorism, drug tafficking, and espionage. [passage indistinct]

SAWP New Name: League of Socialists

LD0303231190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Macedonian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] will transform itself into the League of Socialists [savez socijalista]. The decision was made at today's informative session of the Macedonian SAWP Republican Conference. Marija Damjanovska reports from Skopje:

[Damjanovska] [passage omitted] It was proposed that the Macedonian SAWP become an independent, democratic political organization with socialist orientation and be named the League of Socialists. It should be active on the entire Yugoslav territory because the essence of its program document is a Yugoslav synthesis. Its fundamental orientations are: the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, the federal setup, the equal rights of federal units, the precisely defined right to self- determination to secession, without a monopoly of any nation. If a setup other than the present is imposed, the League of Socialists would advocate that the Macedonian citizens then make their own decisions. Membership is voluntary. Forming a coalition with other parties that accept the program orientations of the League of Socialists is not precluded. [passage omitted]

LC on Democratic, Free Elections

AU1502090690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Feb 90 p 12

[TANJUG report: "One Should Postpone Elections for the Sake of Legitimacy"]

[Text] Skopje [no date as published]—One should definitely postpone Assembly elections and wait for conditions and constitutional prerequisites to be created for general, free, direct, and secret elections. Already at the 10th Congress, the League of Communists [LC] of Macedonia made a permanent decision in favor of democracy and freedom and the competition of programs in the struggle of ideas. Therefore when it comes to elections, too, it does not want to bear any more burden or responsibility, to appear as a usurper, or to obstruct general or its own democratic orientations.

Having adopted this assessment made by Petar Gosev, president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, at its public session held today, the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium started the initiative to postpone the March Assembly elections by, if need be, even as long as six months. Among other things, it is said in the announcement issued at the session—which only summed up the debate and the basis of the initiative made at the Congress—that there are no conditions in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia for general, free, direct, and secret elections, that is, for the affirmation of a freely expressed will by the citizens as the only source of legitimate power. This is even more so since no conditions have been created for a democratic competition of political subjects in the conditions of pluralism.

Presidium members were also unanimous in the assessment that one should also speed up the amending of the constitutions of the SFRY and of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, something that would create conditions for restructuring the SFRY Assembly and the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, as well as for introducing the constitutional basis for citizens' association with political parties.

It is said in the document of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium that only after this constitutional job is done can elections be fully democratic and legitimate.

It was very clearly stated in the debate today that the LC of Macedonia is not starting this initiative only for its own sake, that is, in order to avoid burdens. According to Petar Gosev, the LC of Macedonia does not want or plan to take upon itself any responsibility for obstructing the legitimate right of all other forces to take part in the struggle for power. One may have gained such an impression if the LC of Macedonia supported the opinion that elections should be held on time since the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia does not envisage their postponement. On the contrary, as Branko Crvenkovski put it, the LC of Macedonia wants free elections at which party candidates would be given the broadest and most democratic legitimacy expressed through the citizens' free will.

Crvenkovski, as well as other Presidium members, even expressed the opinion that the LC of Macedonia should push the initiative for postponing elections even more strongly, particularly since that suits their complete democratization, and thereby effectively enter the elections race already today. One does not have to address members of the LC of Macedonia alone, to whom these orientations are either clear or not, but the citizens, because they are the only subjects of sovereign power. The LC can win the elections with a small number of members, but it can also lose them while at the head of as many as 140,000 members.

It was stated that elections must ensure true democracy and legitimacy of power, express multicolored political forces, and ensure an equal competition and struggle between ideas and programs. To be at the head of such an electoral platform is the only way the LC of Macedonia will be able to avoid all possible and existing critical remarks to the effect that it is employing tactics and behaving demagogically. After all, carrying out elections on the basis of the existing principles means sheer rhetoric.

LC CC Feb Session Noted

LD2502112290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2048 GMT 24 Feb 90

["Session of Macedonian LC Central Committee—afternoon proceedings"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Skopje, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—After the adjournment of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress the LCY dramatically ceased to exist in its former mold, even more so since the Slovene League of Communist's [LC] definitive departure from its composition, Fidanco Stoev said. The question remains open as to how the LCY will, and on what basis, renovate itself as this dilemma is also making the situation worse. The schism in the LCY prevents the SFRY from operating actively as a law-governed state and makes it subject to the pressures of the republican and provincial centers. This is why, Stoev stressed, the stands of the Macedonian LC on preserving the LCY's Yugoslav character, based on the principles of the republican organizations' equality and independence, should be given support. [passage omitted]

The LCY should be split into two parties: a social-democratic one and a traditional orthodox communist one, Pande Lazarevski proposed. Such a division is inevitable, he said, for such tendencies are already in evidence within the LCY and there they clash. The undisturbed rule of the Communists in society has driven the country into political and economic chaos and poverty and caused violations of human rights. This very organization, Lazarevski added, which was intent on being the only political subject, has not acknowledged its blame for the situation that has arisen. This is precisely why Lazarevski does not accept that the differences in the Yugoslav Communists' organization are minimal. They are deep and for that reason the party must split in two, Lazarevski concluded as he called on the Macedonian LC to pool with the other democratic tendencies and parties in Yugoslavia on the basis of their mutually shared programatic goals.

Winding up the discussion, Petar Gosev, president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, stressed that today's session expressed the Macedonian LC's efforts to completely transform society. Everyone supported the orientation that the LCY should be transformed in this direction. Everything that is good and useful should be kept from the past, such as the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ], the gains of the revolution, brotherhood and unity, but in our efforts to transform the LCY we must discard all the methods and means which have led Yugoslavia to the present social and economic crisis. We are building a new program based on these principles, for a new system which will include us in civilization's modern developments. Many of our ideas are already part of the Macedonian Constitution, they are built into the new amendments and our proposal for passing a new Constitution is based on them, said Gosev.

Work on developing these ideas and improving them in keeping with logic is ahead of us. However, we will not neglect our current tasks and problems. In the meantime we will train party cadres according to the precisely-defined program document.

As far as the stands on the situation in the LCY after the congress' suspension are concerned, which the Presidium proposed, Gosev said that they were accepted by all 47 participants in the discussion. We have reached a consensus, which now has to be tested by the membership. We will launch a public discussion at the level of municipal and basic organizations and build into the final stands—to be adopted by the Central Committee—the majority's views.

The initiative was also adopted to hold a conference of the Macedonian LC before a possible continuation of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, or before a new congress.

Due to the fact that many dilemmas were raised at the session and even before it on the organization and financing of the LC, the Central Committee set up two commissions at the end of the session which will examine these issues and suggest solutions. Thus the marathon 12-hour session of the Macedonian LC Central Committee ended its work.

Macedonia's KOMMUNIST Changes Name

LD1602110890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Skopje, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—Beginning tomorrow, the Macedonian edition of KOMUNIST will be the first political magazine in Macedonia. It also will change its name to TWENTY-ONE, not just as a symbol of the approaching 21st century, but also of the management's firm determination to change its editorial policy, to introduce a number of innovations, to operate according to market criteria, and to be independent from party subsidies.

This is how Dimitar Baseski, the director and chief editor of TWENTY-ONE, informed journalists about the move which in less than a month transformed KOMUNIST into a "news magazine" similar to DANAS of Zagreb and other publications of the same kind in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted] TWENTY-ONE will remain an organ of the Macedonian League of Communists, but its pages will be made available to everyone, even to people with differing ideas and to opponents of Macedonian Communists.

Montenegrin, Macedonian LC's on LCY Congress

LD2602234790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 26 (TANJUG)—When and how to continue the 14th special congress of Yugoslav Communists—this was one of the main topics at the sessions of the highest Communist forums in the Republics Montenegro and Macedonia.

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro today adopted a stand that the congress should certainly continue and that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) should transform itself into a unique Yugoslav democratic political party with a program based on multi-partism, but retaining its current name.

Member of the Presidency of this forum, Srdja Darmanovic said that today's "already nonexistent LCY and its republican parts are no longer communist, but much rather socialist and social democratic organizations." It was also heard in the debate that the principle of democratic centralism should be redefined and replaced with the principle of democratic unity.

Montenegrin Communist leader Momir Bulatovic concluded that the continuation of the 14th special congress should set preconditions for making a new program and statute of the LCY, which would be adopted at the 15th congress. However, regardless of whether the 14th congress will be continued or not, the survival, character, political goals and activities of the League of Communists of Montenegro will not be affected, Bulatovic emphasized, and added that it was illusory to believe that the LCY would dissolve and disappear from the political scene.

The Central Committee of the Communists of Macedonia is ready to cooperate in the reform of the LCY, but based on a new statute and program, as well as in preparations for continuing the 14th special congress. The committee at the same time proposed the holding of a new, the 15th regular LCY congress.

This forum also proposed that a meeting be organized in the Macedonian capital Skopje between the leaderships of the republican and provincial Leagues of Communists at which minimum accord would be reached or at least a determination to remove the differences and misunderstandings.

Activities of Parties in Montenegro Reported

LC To Run in Elections

LD2602235190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1824 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Titograd, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin LC [League of Communists] formally decided to take part in the forthcoming, pluralistic parliamentary elections in the republic and Yugoslavia. This evening its Central Committee decided to take part in the elections. In doing so, it heralded wide-scale election activity. An election program will be adopted at least three months prior to the elections,. and an election headquarters, entrusted with this task, will be set up. The Central Committee will afterward establish the nominating procedure and criteria for drawing up election lists.

At the general, secret, and direct elections, the decision stresses, the Montenegrin LC, as a part of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, but also as a political party with an independent and recognizable identity, will test its political legitimacy.

LC Members Resign Posts

LD2602235990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2153 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Summary] Titograd, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Doctor Todor Bakovic, member of the Montenegrin Central Committee Presidium, tendered his resignation from the post, since he was recently elected to the post of the republican secretary for labor, health, and social protection. However, he remains a member of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee. Fehbo Hot, member of the Montenegrin League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium, tendered his resignation to the post and membership of the Central Committee. The Montenegrin LC Central Committee this evening endorsed the resignation of Nusret Kalac, member of this body. Danilo Burzan, member of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee and chief and responsible editor of Radio Titograd, tendered his resignation to the post of the member of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee. His resignation was endorsed tonight.

LC Informs Public of Plans

AU2302094290 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 90 p 6

[D. Becirovic report: "The LC Leadership Cares About Public Opinion"]

[Text] Titograd, 18 Feb—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Montenegro decided 2 days ago to address the public and say what it intends to offer to the people and the party membership of Montenegro. In its letter, the Presidium stresses first of all that the Montenegro LC is categorical that the 14th LC congress should be continued, and the LC of Yugoslavia should be a united Yugoslav political party which will fight for democratic socialism, the freedom, equality, and rights of the citizens, the sovereignty and equality of the people, market economy, and political democracy which entails a multiparty system and an independent, open, and integral democratic federation.

Relying on Young People

Stressing in its letter to the public that the members of the Montenegrin LC regard themselves as members of the LC of Yugoslavia, the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium expressed its belief that, regardless of the outcome of the 14th Congress of the LC of Yugoslavia, the aims and character of the Montenegrin LC will remain clear. "Therefore, the assertions that the LC is disintegrating and disappearing from the political scene are an illusion." Stressing that an essential mark of this organization in the future will be its respect for the individuality and dignity of the people, the Montenegrin LC expresses its readiness to carry out all forms of cooperation with the left-oriented parties, associations, and movements. It will also maintain relations with other political entities in society, and will regard the veterans' organization as its integral part.

Addressing the public, the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium stresses that the program aspirations of the youth and the LC are, to a great extent, identical. If the youth organization transforms itself into a political organization, the LC will fight to win over as many young people as possible. However, this does not mean that it will not cooperate with the youth, as a possible political party. As regards the organization's class nature, the main trump card of the Montenegrin Communists will be those who have created the party, the workers and the masses. Therefore the LC intends to firmly stand behind workers' rights and to be in close connection with trade unions.

"The aim is to enable the LC, as the only political party which insists on the workers-class basis of its membership and electorate, to exert the dominant influence in trade unions," the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium writes.

"Our intentions in the future are to make the LC of Montenegro, as a modern and autonomous political organization, test its political legitimacy through free, secret, and direct elections. Therefore, we should immediately start formulating the LC's election program," the letter states.

The Name That Remains

The Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium believes the organization should not change its name. However, it appreciates the proposal for the return of the old name of the Communists Party of Yugoslavia as a wish to permanently affirm the true value of this political organization. Stressing that it will adapt the party's internal organization to the political conditions, under which democratic centralism would be reaffirmed in the most appropriate way, the Central Committee Presidium states that it treats the forthcoming elections very seriously, particularly as it considers them as a way of truly respecting the citizens' will, as an announcement of a struggle for citizens' trust, and as something that will help the will of the people to realize itself. Therefore, it is ready to accept every well-argued criticism and to contribute through public and completely free discussions to the search for truth and a better way toward society's prosperity.

"If it wins the next elections the LC does intend to exert its influence on the implementation of the legal powers and role of the state, and will, if this happens, naturally, accept full responsibility for the functioning of the state," the letter to the public states.

Alternative Parties Attend Assembly

AU1202175890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Feb 90 p 3

[Slavko Vukasinovic and Ljubomir Mudresa report: "Members of Alternative Parties As Observers"]

[Excerpts] Titograd—Yesterday's session of the Montenegrin Assembly will be remembered for one thing: in addition to the legally elected representatives and delegates, the session was also attended by the members of all alternative parties of Montenegro for the first time since the war, although only as observers.

The program of economic policy measures was presented by Republican Executive Council President Radivoje Kontic who stressed that proceeding from the attained level of socioeconomic development, the presence of deep distortions in the reproduction process, and the effects of the Federal Executive Council's economic policy program, the Montenegro Executive Council's economic policy measures for 1990 essentially represents an attempt to intensify the incipient processes of social and economic reforms. [passage omitted]

At the proposal of 10 delegates that one representative of alternative movements or parties speaks on behalf of these parties or movements, Assembly President Dragan Radonjic invited Dr. Slobodan Vujosevic, president of the Democratic Party, to speak. "What we are trying to do in Montenegro today, is to say let alternative parties and movements take part in the parliament's work, which is done throughout the world, and this cannot be damaging for Montenegro."

Assembly Statement on Kosovo: "Dramatic and Uncertain"

The escalation of Albanian separatism and nationalism in Kosovo, violence and terror, the threat to the constitutional system and the territorial integrity of the country, and the violation of the rights and freedoms of Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as of the members of other peoples and nationalities and all Yugoslav-oriented citizens in Kosovo, have made the present situation dramatic and the future uncertain. This was stated in a statement issued by all three chambers of the Montenegro Assembly.

In a situation full of anxiety and fear for our country's fate, the Montenegro Assembly stresses that it is necessary to urgently establish Yugoslav unity in order to solve problems in Kosovo, appeals to the working people and citizens, and demands from all republican and provincial leaderships to jointly, unitedly, and responsibly, without polarization and divisions, without preconditions and delays, to start working on this crucial question for Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

There are 13,000 Volunteers Registered

Albanian nationalism and separatism are escalating and running riot and have caused justified protests by the working people and citizens of Montenegro. This was the reason for numerous protest rallies. The citizens demand that appropriate measures be applied so that the situation in Kosovo may be normalized. In this connection, state and party leaderships were frequently attacked and condemned for having passive attitudes. People have already started setting up and organizing on their own initiative units of volunteers to be sent to Kosovo to protect Serbs and Montenegrins and all Yugoslav oriented citizens in Kosovo. According to the current information, so far 13,000 people have put their names on the list of volunteers. [passage omitted]

Alternative Groups Viewed

AU2302152490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17-18 Feb 90 p 2

[Dragoljub Vukovic commentary: "Peace Instead of Arms"]

[Text] By opposing the so-called big people's assembly in Titograd, the majority of the Montenegrin politically organized alternative groups have clearly expressed a negative attitude toward citizens' political will being expressed outside institutions. Such a political stand was based upon at least two facts: first, basic prerequisites have already been created to form and express that will through the system's institutions and, second, a semi-legal organizational committee whose intentions were not completely clear was standing behind the people's rally. At that particular moment, this latter reason had a considerably greater weight. The Central Committee of the Democratic Party harshly attacked the leaders of the League of Communists [LC] accusing them of being connected with the rally's organizers. The meeting held in the Montenegrin capital while the demonstrations of Kosovo Albanians were at their fiercest, was a new cause for the Democratic Party leadership to attack the LC's leaders. In their open letter to the LC Presidium written in a fighting style, the democrats noted that the party in power is incapable of ensuring normal functioning of the state organs. Expressing animosity toward the meeting at which gun shots were thundering and the idea was voiced of forming so-called voluntary detachments that would go to Kosovo, the Democratic Party leadership pointed out that fatherland must be defended "by means of legal institutions of defense" that "citizens may express their patriotism only by exercising their rights and obligations within these institutions."

The democrats pointed out to their Communist rivals that they had warned them several times "that keeping citizens in the state of rebellion and being tolerant toward aggressive and informal groups exerting pressure can have fatal consequences to our common future."

The Liberal Alliance of Montenegro sent its open letter to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro. Among other things, the letter includes criticism of Dr. Branko Kostic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro and asks that he should bear political responsibility because of the speech he made at the meeting. They particularly point to the paradox of the Republican Presidency deeming the formation of voluntary detachments, headquarters, and commands unconstitutional, while its head does not bear political responsibility for agreeing with such an activity at the meeting.

In contrast to en masse expressions of a combative mood at meetings held in Titograd and elsewhere in the republic, alternative political movements have taken a more flexible attitude toward Kosovo citizens; they prefer democratic political dialogue to new conflicts and pacifism to the use of arms. In an interview with Titograd POBJEDA, Dr. Slobodan Vujosevic, leader of the Democrats, said that his party also wants to have cooperation with Kosovo parties with democratic programs.

If one keeps in mind the indignation about the latest Kosovo events and the excitement these events caused among a large number of Montenegrins spoiling for a fight, the conclusion may be that such views have condemned the alternative movements to be pushed to the margins of events or, what is even worse, to be given the role of a regular culprit. Forming their ideas outside of the domineering black-and-white political scope, the alternative movements have made a risky, albeit brave move. It is brave insofar as it voiced its opposition to the prevailing battle cry which may be justified, but also carries with it a seed of dangerous extremism. It seems that at that particular moment alternative political forces cared less about demagogic struggle for the voters' souls and more about expressing principled stances and making the educative gesture of dissuasion from actions that could accelerate the wheel of the general madness.

One should certainly not overlook the fact that in this case the opposition is still in a better position. One should not forget that the present leadership has inherited the consequences of the explosion of discontent over policy on Kosovo. This position they are in obliges the authorities and makes them make concessions to the majority opinion, even if that opinion includes a lot of problematic and extremist views. Some facts in connection with the latest Titograd meeting are a good illustration of such an attitude.

It was logical to expect the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro—after it decided that formation of the so-called volunteer detachments was unconstitutional—at least to reprimand its president who overlooked this fact when addressing the gathered citizens. This assessment on the unconstitutional nature of such an activity and the routine report the republican internal secretary presented to the Republican Assembly delegates are also at variance. The secretary said that 13,000 people enlisted in volunteer detachments, but failed to say whether such activities have been prevented and if they have been, when that was done.

The times of harsh polarizations and uncertainties, such as the one we have just been going through activate a model of values which has space only for good and evil and friends and enemies. Opting for any of the hues between these extremes is rather risky. Members of the Montenegrin alternative groups have already been rapped on the knuckles by POBJEDA readers-contributors. For example, one of these readers has asked the Montenegrin Assembly to initiate legal proceedings against the self-appointed Liberal Alliance of Montenegro. It was obviously the fear of being misinterpreted and tainted with the black paint of treason which made Dr. Ljubisa Stankovic—when explaining his reasons for leaving the LC—emphasize that it is his opinion that Kosovo must remain a part of Serbia and Yugoslavia and that it must be protected by all means of a law-governed state, including force if that is needed as it is now.

SAWP Elects Officials

LD1502101690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2036 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Titograd, 14 Feb (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference today elected Dr Novica Vujosevic its new president. Slobodan Vukovic is the new secretary of the Republican Conference. After three rounds of voting, the Presidium of the Republican Conference Presidium, consisting of 19 members, was elected.

The following are candidates for the membership of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Federal Conference Presidium from Montenegro: Dr Pavle Bogatic, currently a member of the Presidium; Dr Branislav Kovacevic, previously president of the Montenegrin SAWP Republican Conference; and Zarko Rakcevic, until recently republican secretary for construction, urban planning and accommodation issues. The latter recently tendered his resignation to the post.

Of the three candidates for membership of the Federal Conference Presidium, two will be elected.

People's Party Set Up

AU2102161390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 90 p 9

[G.R. report: "'People's Party' Founded in Montenegro"]

[Text] A meeting of the initiative committee of the "People's Party" was held yesterday in the capital city of Montenegro which has declared itself as a party that is exclusively oriented toward the homeland and Yugoslavia. In its promotional program, the "People's Party" particularly underscores that it is the "first alternative political organization in Montenegro which will not base its orientations on anti-Serbianism and fear of everything that bears the mark of Serbianism."

As announced, the first demand of the new political party will be the dissolution of the Montenegrin parliament in this session and the implementation of secret and direct elections in which candidates from all political parties in the republic will participate. "The orthodox Stalinists bred on Kardelj's illusionist doctrine and the sycophants serving any kind of politics who now sit on the Assembly benches look ridiculous in their democratic clothes," state the leaders of the "People's Party" in their first public announcement.

Albanians in Montenegro Voice Concerns

AU1502144890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Feb 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Albanians in Yugoslavia Have Only Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Titograd—The recent meeting of Communists of the Albanian-inhabited region of Malesija in Titograd Commune, which was attended by Montenegrin Presidency President Dr. Brank Kostic, was more bitter and more clearly marked by political discord than earlier, similar meetings in this area. Recent events in Kosovo and the rally in Titograd accounted for this, and led to Kostic being asked some very frank questions, including questions regarding the call for arms and the enlistment of volunteers to set off for Kosovo.

Some participants in the discussion said in this context that it is unacceptable for Montenegrins to defend themselves, with weapons, from the Albanians in Kosovo, because, it was emphasized, most of these Albanians are for Yugoslavia. Only Yugoslavia is their country, and they want no other. It was also said that it would be unacceptable for Albanians tomorrow to ask for weapons as defense against the Montenegrins, because they always have been and still are on good terms with them.

In Nikolle Camaj's view, not all those who raised two fingers on the streets of Kosovo can be called terrorists.

Franjo Lulgjuraj said that there is nothing in common between nationalists and terrorists of the Albanian nationality and honest Albanians, any more than there is between the Chetnik Vuk Draskovic [founder of the Serbian National Renewal Party] and Yugoslav-minded Serbs.

"We Albanians in Malesija are no less Albanian than those in Kosovo, but no less Yugoslav than Serbs in Serbia," it was said at this meeting in the small town of Tuzi. In this context, it was said that "a genuine formula to solve the problems in Kosovo" is necessary and that the Kosovo leadership must be called to account for the current situation in the province.

Joining the discussion, Dr Branko Kostic said that nobody is equating all Albanians with the nationalists and separatists, that it is vital for more to be done by political means, and that the Albanian nationality in Kosovo must solve the problems in the province. According to Kostic, it is necessary to convince honest Albanians that the Slovene leadership is not all that worried about the Albanians in Kosovo, but is trying to use the situation for its own purposes.

Montenegro Committee To Control Security Service

LD1602194190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Titograd, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—In Monetenegro a special parliamentary commission has been formed for controlling the state security service's work. Its formation was made possible by the recently adopted changes in the republican law on internal affairs, which envisage that the future supervision of this service's operations of this service should be carried out by a permanent body of the Montenegrin Assembly. According to the provisions of this legal act, the commission will carry out permanent inspection of the state security service's work, "particularly in respect of observance of constitutionally and legally established civil liberties, rights and duties, the rights and duties of organizations of associated labour and other self-managing institutions and sociopolitical communities, and the methods and resources which the service uses in the tasks within its competence."

The Montenegrin Assembly has to date been monitoring this service's activity, but only from time to time, and mainly when examining the annual reports on the work of republican organs, including the secretariat for internal affairs.

The newly formed commission, which numbers seven members, is composed, according to the decisions of the competent Assembly chambers, of delegates of the chamber of municipalities and the sociopolitical chamber. Ivan Brajovic, vice president of the republican Assembly, was elected to head it.

Montenegrin Liberal Paper Asks for Civic Rights

AU0203100490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 90 p 7

[Predrag Vulikic commentary reprinted from the first issue of LIBERAL, the publication of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro; date not given: "The Jug Is Overflowing"]

[Text] I am increasingly inclined toward the belief that the demise of so-called "real socialism" actually took place the moment the citizens' institution began to be replaced by the comrades' institution. In many countries, the comrade was (and in some still is) a status symbol, a sign of affiliation to an idea, a movement. A dogma which depersonalized the citizen by establishing the principle of collectivism lost any significance when collective fear surrendered its position to collective desperation and when citizens ceased renouncing their individuality for the sake of their depersonalization. The very thought of freedom—and not even its acquisition—was too great a challenge to be denied for a consciousness that had been deadened for years. The jug was overflowing.

The rule has applied in our country for a long time that it is good that no one knows anything. However, we all knew that much of this was worthless. The very recognition of the hopelessness of a (one)-party social project as the extreme expression of the incompetence of its actors caused the consciousness to revolt. This was the sufficient and necessary reason for us to begin to be concerned with politics instead of surrendering ourselves to politics so that it would be concerned with us.

We are left to hope that we have left behind the times in which Montenegro and Yugoslavia represented an experimental political arena and that the subsequent formula on nonparty pluralism (or nonparty party affiliation) was the last attempt at global political voluntarism. Just as we have all heretofore in one way or another participated in creating collectivistic totalitarianism, we must all now participate in attaining basic civil rights.

The times have passed in which Montenegro exhausted itself living surrounded by enemies and often not recognizing them. With the lack of enemies, Montenegro should now turn toward itself and toward work—because the multiparty model of power in itself is not the cure—in order to begin to resolve all its difficulties.

Milosevic Sees Hope for Future in Federation

LD0402212290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb 4 (TANJUG)—The daily SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA today published an interview with the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, who said that the future of Yugoslavia was in a federation.

This is also the headline of the interview in which Milosevic replied to a number of questions, pointing out that decentralization in Yugoslavia has not resulted in democratization of social relations but in a dangerous desintegration of the country. It has also contribtued to the existence of alienated centers of political [word indistinct] which place local republican and provincial interests above common interests, he said. In this way Yugoslavia has been divided into six political systems and six national economies, Milosevic said.

Replying to a question on the functioning of the Yugoslav parliament, Milosevic said that the system of decision-making on all important questions in the Yugoslav parliament was based on the principle of coordination of opinions of the assemblies of all republics and provinces. This deprives the federation and its organs of the possiblity of successfully implementing a policy of economic development and reaching effective solutions which would reflect the general interest.

On Kosovo, Milosevic said that not only Serbs and Montenegrins, but the national unity and sovereignty of the whole country were in danger. Calls for the setting up of another Albanian state in the Balkans and its unification with the existing one are being spread there, he said. But the land is Serbian, it has never been and will never be Albanian, Milosevic said.

DELO Poll on Personalities, Events, Future

AU1001141090

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 30 December on pages 1, 3 carries a 2,000-word report on a "DELO New Year Poll" presenting opinions on political personalities and events. The poll was conducted by DELO by telephone on 27 and 28 December among 408 respondents. There is no indication of how the sample was selected.

The results of the poll are presented in 1 table and 5 charts, as follows:

Table 1

Question: "Individual political personalities had a great influence on the events at home and abroad. Who of these personalities is in your opinion the most positive and who is the most negative in Slovenia, in Yugoslavia, and in the world?"

In Slovenia, in percentages:			
Positive		Negative	
1. Kucan	77.8	1. Popit	47.4
2. Smole	4.3	2. Ertl	7.9
3. Drnovsek	4.3	3. Others	44.7
4. Others	13.6		
In Yugoslavia, in percentages:			

Positive		Negative	
1. Markovic	56.6	1. Milosevic	95.7
2. Drnovsek	30.2	2. Morina	2.3
3. Kucan	6.5	3. Others	2.0
4. Others	6.7		
In the World, in percentages:			
Positive		Negative	
1. Gorbachev	89.8	1. Ceausescu	89.3
2. Bush	6.0	2. Others	10.7
3. Others	4.2		

Chart 1	
Question: "What will happen in Yugoslavia in 1990?"	
Percent	
1. Nothing good	26
2. Expect a denouement	61.8
3. Yugoslavia will fall apart	5.1
4. Don't know	6.9
Chart 2	
"The Most Important Events of This Year in Yugoslavia"	
Percent	
Latest Markovic measures	89.7
The announced meeting and boycott	89
The adoption of Slovene Constitutional Amendments	84.6
The League of Communists of Slovenia stepping down from power	71.3
State of emergency in Kosovo	67.2
Legalization of opposition	60
Vlasi trial	42.2
Stari Trg miners strike	29.7
Gazi Mestan rally	18.9
Chart 3	
Question: "East Europe experienced great changes this year. In your opinion, where do these changes lead?"	
Percent	
1. To the formation of a quite different socialism	23.3
2. Abolition of socialism in which communism reigns	17.9
3. A new system, a mixture of socialism and capitalism	48.5
4. Don't know	10.3
Chart 4	
Question: "Markovic prepared an anti-inflation program. Do you think that this program can save us from the crisis or not?"	
Percent	
1. Yes, it will succeed because the program is well designed	36.3
2. Yes, it will succeed because the whole world will give it full suppport	29.4
3. Yes, it will succeed because the Yugoslav People's Army will particularly support it	0.7
4. No, because it is not well designed	2.2
5. No, because it will not be supported	5.9
6. No, because there will be great social tensions in underdeveloped regions of the country	11.8
7. Don't know	13.5
Chart 5	
Question: "How can we reach Europe?"	
Percent	
1. Yes, we will reach Europe only together with the rest of Yugoslavia regardless of what Yugoslavia will be	1.7
2. Yes, with Yugoslavia, but only with a democratic, multiparty, and market-oriented Yugoslavia	46.3
3. No, we will never reach it with Yugoslavia, because Yugoslavia will never change	15.4
4. Slovenia must have independence within Yugoslavia, and must develop its own economic model	31.6
5. Other answers	0.7
6. I do not know, cannot decide	3.7
7. I am not interested in politics	0.2

BORBA Drops Marxist Slogan From Masthead

AU2302185590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 90 p 1

[Commentary by Manojlo Vukotic, acting director and managing editor of BORBA: "Proletarians of the World, Farewell!"]

[Text] No other slogan in the 20th century has been received so passionately by so many people, has provoked hopes of the millions, encouraged the humiliated, and shone like a lighthouse in the valley of tears. However, no other slogan has to that extent served as an excuse to create powerful bureaucratic crushers and charismatic-messianic leaders. Mastodonic institutions and communist ideology truly did their best to proletarianize people as much as possible and unite them in cultural and material poverty. The dream has partly become true: Proletarians have been created, but they could not become united because they had nothing they could unite.

The socialist world is undergoing changes. Europe is changing its political map. The third civilizational wave is inevitably globalizing all societies on earth. The utopia of today is no longer calling on proletarians, but on knowledgeable, talented, creative, liberated, and rich people. Everybody wants to unite, but nobody wants to be proletarian any longer.

In the name of these present and future times, albeit with a sentimental feeling for tradition, BORBA today removed Marx's call "Proletarians of the world, unite" from its masthead. These times of pluralism deny it the right to exist, particularly on the front page.

The front page presents life, and life is something new. [the 20 February issue of BORBA is the first to appear without the slogan in its masthead]

Lawrence Eagleburger's Visit Viewed

Talks Termed 'Successful'

LD0103204890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT
1 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—Talks with Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger in Belgrade were "extensive and successful and served their purpose," official spokesman for the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Ivo Vajgl told a press conference here today. Ambassador Vajgl pointed out Eagleburger's support to Yugoslavia's economic reform.

Asked what the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs would do regarding the long list of criticisms of Belgrade's policy in Kosovo in the American State Department report, Vajgl underscored that Yugoslavia devotes great attention to human rights—from the Federal Assembly to the individual committees. "We have also agreed to an international dialogue on this subject, so that the criticisms from this report will be assessed objectively at one of the forums I have mentioned," Vajgl said.

Sundic Comments on Visit

LD0103232190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Yugoslavia recently received a visit from Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state. Little is known about the outcome of his visit, but if some commentaries and statements by Eagleburger himself are anything to go by, the purpose of the U.S. diplomat's visit seems to have been more to confirm the facts he already knew about Yugoslavia than to accept our assessments without comment. The visit was, nevertheless, a successful one since the United States continues to maintain that Yugoslavia must remain free and independent. Here is Milika Sundic:

[Sundic] Lawrence Eagleburger, an experienced politician and diplomat, one time ambassador in Yugoslavia and at present the U.S. deputy secretary of state, was in Belgrade on a two-day visit where he conducted a series of interesting talks with both his hosts and representatives of various alternative groups. This, in fact, was a political and fact-finding mission and at the same time was used as an opportunity to test U.S. views of the events in Yugoslavia and developments in the sphere of human rights, in particular.

Aware of the fact that at the moment the Americans are the only ones in a position to pay attention to Yugoslavia and its problems and in the firm belief that they have more rights than others to do so, especially as compared with the Soviet Union which itself no longer knows where it is in the general power setup on the international scene as a result of being too occupied by its internal problems, Lawrence Eagleburger, in fact, behaved more as a host and adviser than as a guest. In light of this, the visit's protocol visit had to be adjusted so that he could hear what he wanted to hear and say what he wanted to say. He left convinced that Ante Markovic's government knows what it is doing, that Kosovo is Yugoslavia's cancerous wound, that the State Department's stance on Yugoslavia and human rights is correct but that, on the other hand, the United States will insist that Yugoslavia must remain united and that it will not be dismantled because, as he put it, the Yugoslavs know well what could happen to them if they divided.

Lawrence Eagleburger is a Republican, a conservative, but he has always been favorably inclined toward Yugoslavia or at least during his term as the U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, or even when his sharp tongue became too unpleasant for our sensitive ears. This time he unfortunately committed one mistake: probably because he is so obsessed by developments in East Europe, he placed Yugoslavia at the tail end of events in comparison with other socialist countries. This simply is not true, or at least in comparison with the majority of these countries.

True, we can no longer use as pretext the fact that we were the first to open the door to the outside world and to embark on political reforms. On the other hand, our hesitations and stumblings in relation to Kosovo, in particular, cannot devalue our achievements which, for years, were our hallmark: our resistance to Stalin and Stalinism, self-management, and our strong presence on the world scene. By saying this I wish not to minimize the seriousness of the problems in Kosovo or of national divisions and conflicts. On the contrary, we are not denying that these two problems could undo the initial successful results in our economic reform and destroy our state. But at issue here is not whether others are teaching us what to do, but when we all will eventually become aware of the fact that Yugoslavia's destiny depends on our common sense and unreserved tolerance in interethnic relations alone. This implies that we all enjoy an equal amount of freedom and that there can be no single view or action of how to eliminate our present troubles. Our weaknesses and attempts at making undemocratic decisions about the issues of crucial importance for the country's future are providing others with an excuse to lecture us and to put us in a position where our foreign partners would decide on our future. In the past we have always successfully resisted this but now, if we forget this, we can become prey to those forces in the world which for years could not forgive us for our independence.

Still, when a power such as the United States insists that it favors a United Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia must bear this in mind and treat it at least as well-intentioned advice.

Vice Premier Pregl on U.S. Visit

LD0103203790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2225 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia can continue to count on support from the American Government in its reforms, Yugoslav federal vice-premier, Dr Zivko Pregl said in Belgrade today.

In a statement for the press on his return from a several days' long visit to the United States, Pregl said that support had also been promised in talks with representatives of international financial institutions and of American banks, and that it can be expected that commercial banks will be more engaged in Yugoslavia's development.

Pregl also said that business talks had been completed with the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Bank. It had been indicated earlier that Yugoslavia might soon sign an agreement with the IMF for 600 million dollars in credits.

Pregl said that American Government officials followed a report on the results of the reform in Yugoslavia with interest and sympathies. He also said that the federal government would initiate the arrival in Yugoslavia of American businessmen who will make business arrangements with Yugoslav businessmen.

The Yugoslav vice-premier also said that it was assessed in talks with university professors in the United States that the path which Yugoslavia has chosen yields results and creates possibilities for a peaceful and calm transition to a market economy and democratic society.

Pregl said that a series of concrete arrangements can also be expected with Yugoslav immigrants who live in the United States.